HISTORY OF THE AFGHANS IN INDIA

A. D. 1545—1631

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE MUGHALS

M. A. RAHIM

PAKISTAN PUBLISHING HOUSE KARACHI

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THE AFGHANS IN INDIA

A. D. 1545—1631

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE MUGHALS.

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With a Foreword

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DEDICATED

TO

Dr. I. H. QURESHI

IN ADMIRATION OF HIS GREAT SCHOLARSHIP

AND

PATRONAGE TO RESEARCH

CONTENTS

PREFACE

The need for a comprehensive history of the Afghāns in India was felt for a long time. The Afghāns played a distinctive role in Indo- Muslim history and made a remarkable contribution to the political, social and cultural life of this sub-continent. A virile and bold people, they invigorated the Muslim state and society and left a precious legacy in administration and culture to the succeeding generations. There has been no systematic attempt as yet to study the whole range of Afghān rule and assess their achievements in the development of the society and culture of the sixteenth century India. Dr. K.R. Qanungo wrote his monograph on Sher Shāh. Dr. A. Halim has recently published his thesis on the Lodī Afghāns. But no work has been done on the successors of Sher Shāh and also on the Afghān rule in Eastern India. In consequence, the history of the Afghāns after the death of Sher Shāh has remained blank and they have been deprived of the proper place in the history of the Muslim rule in India.

The object of the present work is to fill this blank in the history of the Afghāns and to assign them their rightful place in the state and society of their time. It has aimed at bringing to light their career and works in the period from the death of Sher Shāh in 1545 A.D. to the death of Khān Jahān Lodī, an Afghān noble at the court of Emperor Jahāngīr, in 1631 A.D. The reason for pushing forward the study of the history of the Afghāns upto the death of Khān Jahān Lodi is that the Afghāns continued to be a political community in the Mughal empire even long after they were dispossessed of Northern India as well as Eastern India. It is indeed interesting to investigate into the mind of the

vanquished Afghāns towards their Mughal conquerors and the policy of the Mughal rulers to their rivals and enemies, the Afghāns.

In order to make the Afghān history from the time of Islām Shāh intelligible, this work has also presented a survey of the earlier history of the Afghāns, discussing such problems as the origin of the Afghāns, their settlement in India and their rise to the Sultanate of Delhi. The nature of the Afghān monarchy and government at the time of the Lodī Sultans as well as Sher Shāh has been thoroughly examined to appreciate the inheritance of Islām Shāh from his illustrious father and the early Afghān rulers. It is on this background that a correct estimate of Islām Shāh's monarchy and his achievements could be made.

This is my Ph. D. work in the University of London. To suit the needs of the students of history, I have however made a few additions, alterations and omissions where it seemed necessary. The work is based on the original sources, Persian, Arabic, Bengali, Sanskrit and Hindi. The accounts of the foreign travellers, the records of the inscriptions and coins have been utilised in the compilation of this work. The modern works of the scholars of Indo-Muslim history have been consulted to be acquainted with their ideas in this field of study.

It is my pleasant duty to express my very sincere and deep gratitude to my supervisor Professor C.H. Philips for the encouragement and guidance I received in the preparation of this work. I am very grateful to Dr. P. Hardy and Mr. J.B. Harrison for their ungrudging and constant help without which, I am afraid, this work would have hardly seen the light. I thank Dr. A.L. Basham for his reading with me some Sanskrit books. My thanks are also due to Dr. R.P. Tripathi, Vice-Chancellor of the Sagar University and an eminent

scholar of Indo-Muslim history, for giving me his valuable time during his stay in London in the summer of 1953, in discussing some of the problems of this work. Indeed he illuminated the subject and immensely benefited me.

For more than one reason, I am deeply grateful to our Vice-Chancellor, Dr. I. H. Qureshi. In spite of his heavy duties and higher responsibilities of two great institutions, the University of Karachi and the Central Institute of Islamic Research, he spared his precious time to write the Foreword for this book. He also extended liberal subsidy from the University in its publication. With profound fealings, I acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. I. H. Qureshi and the University authorities.

I shall fail in my duty, if I do not acknowledge my debt to the Times Press, particularly to its proprietor Mr. Shujauddin, who took very keen interest in the printing of this book. Indeed he took up its printing in the spirit of a mission rather than profession. In the end, I thank Mr. Malik Noorani of Pakistan Publishing House for his cooperation in bringing to light the present work.

University of Karachi, M. A. Rahim

The 27th October, 1961.

FOREWORD

The history of Afghan rule in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent reads like a romance. The Afghans had a long tradition of entering the service of the Muslim ruling dynasties before they established their empire. This in itself was no mean feat, because after the invasion of Timur the Sultanate of Dehli had sunk into hopeless anarchy and chaos. To restore order and establish organized government was a real achievement which has not received its meed of praise from the modern historian. It was the patient work of the Lodis which culminated in Sher Shah's outstanding success despite the Mughul interregnum. Because of this hiatus and the subsequent restoration of Mughul rule, Sher Shah looks like a brilliant meteor which sailed from the remote corners of unseen space into the visible sky, illuminating it for a while and then disappearing as if its appearance was a supernatural phenomenon.

The decline of the Afghan power after Islam Shah Sur, whose own reign was short and troubled, has heightened this effect. And, yet, just as the Afghan power was not built in a day, it took time in dying out. Indeed it did not completely die until all political power slipped out of the hands of the Muslims. The story of this decline and the repeated efforts of the Afghans to cling to what was left of their power has not been adequately told. The reason is that history came to be written from the Mughul angle and subsequent writers relied too heavily upon the Mughul sources.

There are many dark corners of this story which have yet to be illuminated, some of them will perhaps never be exposed to the searchlight of scholarship. For this the Afghan

historians are themselves to blame, because they started writing too late and then they wrote with an understandable nostalgia for the days of their glory. For their decline they uniformly blame their incorrigible habit of dissensions and lack of unity. This is true, but it does not give the entire story. The social, economic and administrative factors have received little attention from the Afghan historians and, therefore, it is not too easy to reconstruct the story in accordance with modern trends.

Even a factual narration of what happened is interesting and by no means without recompense. The facts are scattered over considerable literature, both Mughul and Afghan. It was, therefore, essential to give a readable account of this period. The modern reader, unless he was inclined to go to original sources or their translations (so unequal in their worth), had little in his hands in the way of consolidated information. Of interpretation he had even less.

It is, therefore, gratifying that Dr. M.A. Rahim's thesis is being published. It fills a gap in our historical literature and I am sure it will be appreciated by the students of this period in so far as it attempts to give an unbroken story of the decline of the Afghan power in the sub-continent.

I H. Qureshi
(Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi)
Vice-Chancellor.

University of Karachi,
The 25th October, 1961.

TRANSLITERATION

In transliteration, the system of F. Steingass (Persian-English Dictionary, London, 1930) has been followed.

ا - a	ض - ḍ
ب - b	ط - ṭ
پ - p	ظ - ẓ
ت - t	ع - ʻ
ث - ṯh	غ - gh
ج - j	ف - f
چ - ch	ق - q
ح - ḥ	ک - k
خ - kh	گ - g
د - d	ل - l
ذ - z	م - m
ر - [illegible]	ن preceded by ع - ṃ
ز - z	ن - n
ژ - zh	و - v and w
س - s	ه - h
ش - sh	ء - ’
ص - ṣ	ی - y

Vowel signs (short vowels) - a, i, u,
long vowels - ā, ī, e, o.

ABBREVIATIONS

'Abbās	*Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* of 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī.
'Āmal	'*Amal Ṣālih* of Muḥammad Ṣālih Kambū.
A. N.	*Akbarnāma* of Abūl Faḍl.
Ā' īn	*Ā' īn-i-Akbarī* of Abūl Faḍl.
B.	Badāunī's *Muntakhab al Tawārikh.*
BM.	British Museum manuscript.
Biyāt	Bāyazīd Biyāt's *Tārīkh-i-Humāyun.*
B. N.	*Bāburnāma* translated by A. S. Beveridge.
BPP.	Bengal Past and Present (Journal).
Bahāristān	*Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī* of Mīrzā Nathan.
Baranī	*Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Ẓiā-al-Dīn Baranī.
Blochmann	Blochmann's translation of *Ā' in-i-Akbarī.*
D.	*Tārīkh-i-Dāudī* of 'Abd Allāh.
Dorn	Dorn's translation of *Makhzān-i-Afghāna.*
E.	Elliot and Dowson.
F.	Firishta's *Tārīkh.*

Idem	The same as previously mentioned.
Iqbālnāma	*Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī* of Mu'tamid Khān.
IO.	India Office manuscript.
Jauhar	*Tazkirat ul Wāqi'āt* of Jauhar Aftabchī.
JASB.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Khāfī K.	*Muntakhab al-Lubāb* of Muḥammad Hāshim Khāfī K.
JOBRS.	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
M.	*Makhzān-i-Afghāna* of Ni'mat Allāh
Ma'āṭhir	*Ma'āṭhir al Umara.*
Mir'āt A.	*Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī* of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān.
Mir'āt S.	*Mir'āt-i- Sikandarī* of Sikandar Manjhū.
Op. Cit.	The same as previously quoted or mentioned.
Raḥīmī	*Ma'āṭhir-i-Raḥīmī* of 'Abd al Bāqī Nihāvandī.
R.T.	*Rauḍat al-Tāhirīn* of Tāhir Muḥammad.
R.	Rogers' translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī.*
Riyāḍ	*Riyāḍ al-Salāṭīn* of Ghulām Ḥusain Salīm.
Shāhī	*Tārīkh-i-Shāhī* or *Salāṭīn-i-Afghāna* of Aḥmad Yadgar.
School	Oriental School manuscript.
T.	*Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Niẓām-al-Dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī.
Tūz.	*Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī.*
W.M.	*Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* of Rizq-Allāh Mushtāqī.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE Afghāns occupy a specially significant position in the history of the Muslim rule in India. A people, with distinctive characteristics of their own which distinguished them from their great predecessors, the Turks, as well as from their illustrious and brilliant successors, the Mughals, the Afghāns introduced a new element in the social and political life of the country. The Sūr Afghān rulers in particular made a substantial contribution to the development of the political and social institutions of India. Moreover, unlike other conquered peoples, the Afghāns maintained their identity throughout the period of the Mughal rule in this country and hence they had a history as a political community even after they had lost their sultanate to the Mughals. Indeed the history of the Muslim rule in India remains incomplete without an appreciation of the role they played in the life of this country as rulers and as the vanquished of the Mughals.

The mountain belt in the north-west frontier of India, known as *Roh*, was the early home of the Afghāns and from this region they migrated to the plains of this country as hirelings to the Muslim conquerors beginning from the time of Subuktgīn. The mountainous territory to which they originally belonged was the home of the daring and stubborn soldiers and even now it produces the best fighting force of the world. Along with their great fighting quality, the Afghāns brought a strong physique and robust body in this country and infused new vigour and energy into the life of the people in general and the Muslims in particular. It

was because of the remarkable fighting quality that they twice secured the sovereignty of India and, although they lost to the Mughals several times, they did not tamely submit to the position of a vanquished, but stubbornly fought against their great rivals for some generations, maintaining hold on one territory or the other.

The mountain home had stamped the Afghāns with some peculiarities on their character and life. Like other mountainous peoples, they held an exaggerated notion of their racial affiliation, claiming origin, without justification, from the Semitic race. Mountain life also impressed them with tribal instincts which they did not forget, in spite of their long residence in India and their association with the other peoples of this country. Naturally the state and society they founded in India represented the tribal organisation and habits of their homeland in *Roh*. Their tribalism accounted for their weakness and reverses in life and also fall from the sovereign position on several occasions. This, however, led them to make the experiment of a new type of monarchy and governmental organisation on tribal basis in their sultanate in Northern India. But the experience showed that their system suffered from some inherent defects; it was weak and structureless and, instead of promoting the stability and strength of the state, it contributed to the disintegration and dissolution of the sultanate.

Perceiving the drawbacks of the system, some of the Afghān sulṭāns wanted to depart from the traditions of the tribal monarchy and introduce an absolute monarchy of the type of the Turkish sultanate of Delhi. In consequence, there was a bitter conflict between two opposite political forces among the Afghāns, that of the tribal autonomy represented by the self-willed Afghān chiefs and of strong

monarchy of the autocratic Afghān sulṭāns. The conflict between the monarch and the chiefs, holding different ideas in the running of the government, was a striking feature of the Afghān sultanate in India. The conflict developed into a crisis in the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī and caused the loss of the first Afghān sultanate in this country. In the restored Afghān sultanate, Sher Shāh devised a monarchy that was essentially a compromise between the two ideals of tribal autonomy and absolute monarchy. The conflict of the two forces could not however be long delayed; it reappeared in the reign of Islām Shāh. In the renewed struggle the cause of the tribal chiefs suffered and absolute monarchy scored a signal triumph. Energetic and autocratic Islām Shāh ruthlessly terminated the stubborn Afghān chiefs and inaugurated an autocratic kingship that was reminiscent of the absolutism of the great Turkish sulṭāns of Delhi, Ghiyāṭh al-Dīn Balban, 'Alā al-Dīn Khaljī and Muḥammad bin Tughlaq. The proud Afghān chiefs were not the people to submit to a position of subservience to the monarch whom they were accustomed to concede the honour only of the leader of equals. They fretted and chafed under the autocracy of Islām Shāh and looked for an opportune moment to vindicate their traditional right and honour. The death of Islām Shāh and the accession to the throne first of a minor and then of a weak ruler, Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh, afforded them opportunity to revive the issue and fight over the same to its logical conclusion. This led to the disintegration and then to the collapse of the Afghān sultanate in Northern India. It was because of their internal conflict that the Afghāns lost their sovereignty a second time to their great rivals, the Mughals.

The Afghān monarchy, based on tribal lines, though suffered from inherent weakness, was however an innovation

in the political history of India. It contained the element of an institution which had great future possibilities. If the Afghāns tempered their excessive love for tribal independence with wisdom and political sagacity, this new element could have been developed into a constitutional monarchy. In England constitutional monarchy originated as a result of the struggle between the king and the feudal lords. The same thing would have happened in India, if the Afghān feudal chiefs could properly regulate their spirit in a bit restrained manner. Because of their lack of prudence, political foresight and moderation, they destroyed the possibilities of both the absolute monarchy and the constitutional kingship and thus ruined their own political power in this country.

There are some Afghān sulṭāns, who, however, made remarkable contribution to the development of the governmental institutions. The names of Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh are to be specially remembered in this connection. Within the framework of the traditional Afghān monarchy, Sher Shāh evolved a system of a fairly centralised and efficient administration. Though he was not an originator in this field, he however revived many old institutions which had fallen into disuse and, by infusing vigour and energy, he stimulated them into an excellent working order. Islām Shāh, who was more energetic and daring than his great father and knew no compromise to an ideal, developed further the institutions of a strong centralised government and autocratic monarchy. These two Afghān worthies thus left behind a precious legacy of several administrative principles which were perfected by the Mughal Emperor Akbar.

The Afghān rulers made notable contribution to the

development of the society and culture. It was in their reigns that the *Mahdavī* movement and the *Bhakti* cult flourished throughout Northern India and played a vital role in the liberalisation and progress of the society of the time. The period also witnessed a momentous intellectual awakening in the Persian and Arabic literatures and Islamic learning. The Afghān rule is particularly memorable in history for the development of the Indo-Muslim music. Their patronage and love for Muses made their capital Gwalior an illuminating centre of music in India. Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil Sūr and Bāz Bahādur were specially devoted to this art and were regarded as the master musicians of the time. Muḥammad 'Ādil Sūr counted the celebrated musicians, Miyān Tansen and Bāz Bahādur, among his disciples. Equally noteworthy was the advance of the Afghān rule in the field of art and architecture. Sher Shāh's mausoleum at Sahsaram and the *Purāna Qil'a* in Delhi speak eloquently of the architectural attainments of the time.

In the Afghān period great stride was made in the progress of the common cultural institutions, such as the Hindi and Bengali languages and literatures. The Afghāns adopted this land as their home and identified themselves with the people of the locality. The Sūr and Karranī rulers in particular realised that the cause of their government would be best served, if they could enlist the sympathy and cooperation of the subject peoples. So they patronised the local intellect and stimulated the development of the common cultural institutions. They accorded to Hindi and Bengali a status of dignity in the state and society and gave incentive to the prosperity of these literatures in various other ways. The encouragement to the local intellect opened a great opportunity to the people to display their genius in the political as well as cultural

fields. In consequence, there was a great rise of the Hindu influence in the state and society of the time. The ascendancy of Hemu at the court of Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil Sūr and of Srihari in the government of Dāud Karranī illustrates this fact. Another noticeable feature of the Afghān rule was the rise of the *Bara Bhuyans* in Bengal. These great *zamīndārs* played a significant role in the political and social life of this province.

No less important and interesting of the political history of the Afghāns is their relation with the Mughals as the vanquished of the latter. The second quarter of the sixteenth century opened with a duel between these two vigorous peoples and the Afghāns lost their sovereignty in this contest. The duel was soon renewed by the Afghāns and, being united under a spirited leader and shrewd organiser, Sher Shāh, they won the day over the Mughals and recovered the sovereign power of Northern India. The internal conflict of the Afghāns on the issue between strong monarchy and tribal autonomy after the death of Islām Shāh afforded opportunity to the expelled Mughal Emperor Humāyun to revive the rivalry and dispossess the Afghāns of Delhi and Agra. The Afghān Sulṭān 'Ādil Shāh's general Hemu however soon scored victory over the Mughals and restored Delhi and Agra for his royal master. But the victory proved too short-lived and in the Second Battle of Panipat the Afghāns lost finally their sovereign position in the country.

Even after the loss of Northern India the Afghāns stubbornly maintained their supremacy in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. But they could not long keep their hold on these territories. In 1576 A. D. they lost Bihar and Bengal and in 1592 they were ousted from their stronghold in Orissa. Even then, the Afghāns did not submit to the position of a

vanquished to their Mughal rivals. They retired to Bengal and allied themselves with the *Bara Bhuyans*, and made common cause against their common enemy, the Mughals. They kept the fighting going until the last Afghān hero Uṭh-mān fell in the battle of Daulambapur in 1611 A. D. and their last foothold in Sylhet was occupied by the Mughals.

The policy of the Mughal conquerors to the vanquished Afghāns and the attitude of the latter towards the former deserve a special study. For some generations the two peoples were great rivals and enemies of one another. It is noteworthy in this connection that Bābur's policy towards the Afghāns was one of conciliation. By following a generous policy he aimed at winning over the Afghāns to his rule. So he gave them fiefs and left them undisturbed in the possession of their *jagirs* and territories in Bihar, on their promise to be loyal to the Mughal throne. Humāyun walked in the footsteps of his illustrious father. But the Afghāns did not respond to this conciliating policy. Indeed Bābur made a great political blunder in leaving the Afghān chiefs, Sher Khān and others, in the possession of Bihar. This provided them with a stronghold and rallying centre against the Mughals. Sher Khān made the fullest use of this Afghān position in Bihar and this enabled him to expel Humāyun from India and restore the Afghān sultanate of Delhi.

Emperor Akbar's policy was one of distrust and suspicion towards the Afghāns. In view of their past conduct to his father, notwithstanding the conciliating and generous policy of his grandfather and father, his suspicion of the Afghāns was but natural. Although some of the Afghāns joined his service and served his empire with distinction, he did never trust them with any responsible post either in the army or in the civil administration. He distrusted even these petty officers in his army. So when Daulat Khan Lodī, a

mansabdār of 1000 in his army, died Emperor Akbar is said to have observed, "Today Sher Khān has left this world." This reveals Akbar's mind towards the Afghāns. On the other hand, the Afghāns in general remained hostile to him and were never slow to cause trouble to his empire whenever they got a chance to do so.

There was a reorientation of the Afghān policy of the Mughals in the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr. The new Emperor felt the necessity of winning over the Afghāns and utilising their services to the cause of his empire. The hostility of some of the powerful nobles of the court to his succession to the throne awakened him to the consciousness that he could not solely depend on the Mughal and the Rajput nobility and needed the creation of a group of loyal nobles on whom he could confidently depend at all times. He wanted to recruit this devoted group from among the Afghāns. So he followed a very generous policy towards the Afghāns, appointing them to responsible offices and army commands. It was indeed a revolutionary change in the Afghān policy of the Mughal emperors to see Jahāngīr trusting them with the governorship of important provinces and confiding them in the defence of the frontier of the empire. He also treated the vanquished Afghān rebels with such generosity that behoved his illustrious ancestor Bābur. The Afghāns, who had lost all their foothold in Eastern India and faced annihilation in still maintaining irreconcilable attitude to the Mughal rulers, responded to the gesture of good-will and generous policy of Emperor Jahāngīr. They entered his service and devoted their toil and blood for the prosperity of his empire. This enabled them to attain a position of honour and dignity at the Mughal court. Many Afghāns distinguished themselves in the imperial service and were elevated to the office of governor, viceroy and commander. The

rise of Khān Jahān Lodī, an Afghān chief, to the position of a premier noble and favourite companion of Emperor Jahāngīr and the pre-eminence he obtained as the Viceroy of the Deccan and the *sipahsālār* of the empire over other Mughal nobles represent in its true light the new Afghān policy of the Emperor and also illustrate the change of the heart of the Afghāns towards the Mughals and their loyal services to the empire of their once great rivals and enemies.

In the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, the Mughal—Afghān relations cooled on account of a misunderstanding between the new Emperor and the Afghān noble Khān Jahān Lodī. Khān Jahān Lodī did not support Shāh Jahān in his contest for the throne. So when Shāh Jahān, after his accession, gave the office of *sipahsālār* to Mahābat Khān and transferred Khān Jahān Lodī from the viceroyalty of the Deccan he felt that he had fallen from his position of a premier noble at the Mughal court. He feared further disgrace and even apprehended that he might be ruined. Though his apprehension was unfounded, yet it worked so strongly in his mind that he escaped from the capital without the permission of the Emperor. Thus Khān Jahān Lodī turned a rebel. Many Afghān chiefs joined him in the hope of restoring the Afghān sovereignty in India. The rebellion however ended in the defeat and death of Khān Jahān Lodī. Khān Jahān Lodī's rebellion and the desertion of many Afghāns from the Mughal service to join their leader in their common cause shook Emperor Shāh Jahān's trust in them. From this time he became cautious in appointing the Afghāns and trusting them with responsible offices. Even his successor, Emperor Aurangzeb also did not implicitly trust the Afghāns, although he continued to appoint them in his service.

In this work an attempt has been made to study the

various aspects of the Afghān history in India with especial reference to the Mughal-Afghān relations. It has thus aimed at filling the blank in the history of the Muslim rule by giving a complete picture of the Afghāns in this land and assigning them the place they deserve in history.

Bibliography :

In the preparation of this work, various contemporary sources, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi and English have been consulted and utilised. The Persian histories have formed the main source and have supplied plenty of materials. The non-Persian sources, though second in importance to the Persian source, have however played a remarkable role in the supply of important materials. The contemporary Bengali works in particular have provided a good deal of useful information about the Afghān rule in Bengal and the Afghān-Mughal relations in Eastern India. The accounts of the foreign travellers, especially of the Europeans, have been very profitably utilised. They have thrown interesting side-lights on the Afghān-Mughal relations in this country. Their accounts have supplemented and substantiated the evidence gathered from the contemporary Persian sources, and have also added valuable facts and illuminated many problems of the Afghān-Mughal relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth century India. The coins and inscriptions of the period have been very profitably consulted. They have made useful contribution in illuminating the political as well as cultural life of the time under review. The secondary works have not been neglected in the study of the Afghān history. Their ideas have been accommodated where these have been found acceptable in the light of historical evidence. The varieties of sources have thus greatly helped in weighing the evidence of one by the other and in arriving at a correct appreciation of the historical development of the period under study.

The contemporary Persian historians of the period fall, on the basis of their affiliations, into three principal groups: (A) Afghān, (B) Mughal and (C) Provincial. The Afghān historians are naturally inclined to idealise their Afghān rulers and exaggerate their achievements and attainments. On the other hand, the Mughal historians are generally hostile to the Afghāns, the enemies of the Mughals. The two sources however reveal an interesting aspect of the Mughal-Afghān relations. The third group of historians, who were neither Afghāns nor Mughals, but may for the sake of convenience be termed Provincial, puts forward evidence which in many cases help in forming a correct estimate of the personalities and the contributions of the Afghāns to history.

Although these historians have been divided into three groups, it should not however be thought that all the Afghan historians were pro-Afghān and anti-Mughal, all the Mughal historians were pro-Mughal and anti-Afghān and all the Provincial historians were impartial in their evidence and accounts. In fact, the merit of the histories of these three classes of historians depends on many factors, particularly their personal likes and dislikes and their study of the events and developments in their true perspective.

All the Afghān historians compiled their works in the period of the Mughal rule and as such were directly or indirectly under the general supervision or influence of some Mughal emperor or noble. Thus 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī wrote his well-known work *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* at the order of Emperor Akbar. Ni'mat Allāh's *Makhzān-i-Afghāna* was compiled under the patronage of Emperor Jahāngīr's favourite Afghān noble, Khān Jahān Lodī. As for *Tārīkh-i-Dāudī* and *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī*, though they are not known to have been written under the supervision of any Mughal ruler or

chief, yet they were compiled in the reign of the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr. In the circumstances, the Afghān historians could not have idealised the Afghān rulers and heroes and extolled their achievements at the expense of the Mughal emperors.

The Mughal historians also should not necessarily be branded as hostile to the Afghāns. Even 'Abūl Faḍl, whose devotion to Emperor Akbar was like faith, has highly appreciated the qualities of Sher Shāh, Islām Shāh, Hemu and Lodī. This Mughal court historian has stigmatised the Afghāns in many places, but he has at the same time recognised the attainments and achievements of some of the Afghān worthies. In fact, he has largely given facts about the Afghāns, if these did not in any way injure and affect the reputation of his royal master and patron. Niẓām al-Dīn-Aḥmad Bakhshī, who is generally regarded as a most judicious historian, has been very fair in his study of the Afghān rule in this country. In places where the question of the prestige of his imperial master Akbar is concerned, he has however remained silent. Although a Mughal by affiliation, Mullā 'Abd al-Qadīr Badāunī is more Afghān than an Afghān historian in his praise for the virtues and achievements of the Afghān rulers, heroes and nobles. He wrote his work in the reign of Emperor Akbar, but in strict secrecy, and it was not made public until some years after the accession of Emperor Jahāngīr. Being orthodox in his outlook, Badāunī was bitterly hostile to the religious innovations of Emperor Akbar. Excepting the portion dealing with the religious affairs, his work *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* may be treated as fair to the Emperor. To the Afghāns Badaūnī was more than fair. As such his work is a valuable source of information of the Afghān history.

The Provincial historians are not necessarily to be taken as impartial. Firishta was neither an Afghān nor a Mughal, and wrote his work at the court of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur. In his accounts however he is more of a Mughal than a Mughal historian. The same inclination is reflected in Rizq-Allāh's *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* and Ṭāhir Muḥammad's *Rauḍat al-Ṭāhirīn.*

In view of these factors, the convenient classification of the Persian materials into Afghān, Mughal and Provincial should not be pushed too far. Individual examination of each history's source will illuminate this and confirm the need for caution.

Afghān Histories :

The foremost Afghān historian of the period was 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī. 'Abbās held the post of *Waqī'anavis* at the court of Akbar and compiled his valuable historical work *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*, also known as *Tuḥfa-i-Akbar Shāhī*, at the order of that Emperor. His history begins with the reign of Bahlūl Lodī and ends with that of Sher Shāh. It was completed in 995 H./1587 A. D. 'Abbās claims to have been related to the family of Sher Shāh and asserts that he obtained information about that great ruler from his father, grandfather and other elderly Afghāns. He has idealised Sher Shāh by crediting him with the introduction of many political institutions, although he compiled his work at the instance of Emperor Akbar. This shows that 'Abbās had full freedom to narrate facts in the compilation of the work he was entrusted with. He is particularly conscious of the defects of the Afghān people. Though himself an Afghān, 'Abbās has exposed the tribal nature and unruly spirit of his own people and held these responsible for their misfortunes in history. Indeed his work is useful in acquiring an insight into the

nature of the Afghāns and the character of their government in India.

Ni'mat Allāh's work *Makhzān-i-Afghāna* or *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān Lodī* is also an important Afghān source for the period. This Afghān historian served the *Khālṣa* department of Emperor Akbar for about thirty years and then worked as a librarian of Khān Khanān 'Abdur Raḥīm. In the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr he served for some time as *waqī'anavīs* and in 1608 he was engaged by Khān Jahān Lodī to work as his librarian and also to write the history of the Afghāns, which after compilation was named *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān Lodī* or *Makhzān-i-Afghāna.* Ni'mat Allāh was the first historian to propound the theory of the Semitic origin of the Afghān people. His genealogy of the Afghāns, excepting the legendary portion, is useful. It shows the tribal divisions of the Afghāns. His work is particularly useful, because it reveals the new Afghān policy of Emperor Jahāngīr, Qatlū Lohānī's treachery to Dāud Karranī in the battle of Rajmahal and several other valuable facts relating to the history of the Afghāns.

Another significant Afghān history was the *Tārīkh-i-Dāudī* of 'Abd Allāh. This is a complete history of the Afghān rule in India from Sulṭān Bahlūl Lodī to Dāud Karranī (1481-1576 A.D.), written in the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr. Although deficient in dates and chronology, *Tārīkh-i-Dāudī* gives a fuller account of the Sūr Afghān period and is specially valuable for the successors of Sher Shāh. A good deal of useful information can be gathered from this work about the nature of the monarchy and the ideal of the administration of Islām Shah.

Tārīkh-i-Shāhī of Aḥmad Yādgār is another complete history of the Afghāns from the time of Sultān Bahlūl Lodi

to Dāud Karranī. The author claims to have written his work at the order of Dāud Karranī, the last Afghān ruler of Bengal. But the fact that he often quoted from *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* is a proof that he compiled his work after 1595 A.D., the date of the compilation of that Mughal history. Full of inaccuracies in dates and events, *Tārīkh Shāhī* is also the store-house of many fantastic stories and hence unreliable in most places. Its evidence cannot be entertained unless it is corroborated by other sources.

Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, the *dīwān* of the Rohīla Afghān state of Rohilkhand, wrote a history of his own people in 1771 A. D. and named it *Khulāṣat al-Anṣāb*. This work also claims the Semitic origin of the Afghāns. It also shows the rise of the Afghāns to a supreme position in Rohilkhand in the eighteenth century. Mahābat Khān, a grandson of Emperor Shāh Jahān's great general Dilīr Khān Rohīla, wrote in 1850 A. D. a general history of India with particular reference to his own ancestors. His work called *Akhbār-i-Mahābat* supplies some information about the position of the Rohīla Afghāns in the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān and his successors. There is another work, entitled *Afsān-i-Shāhān*, written by Kabīr, a daughter's son of Shaikh Khalīl Allāh Huqqanī, sometime in the eighteenth century. In his work, Kabīr has given a series of anecdotes of the Afghān kings of India. Although this work is of little historical value, yet it often reflects the spirit of the government of the Afghān rulers and specially their interests in the promotion of learning and culture of the time.

Mughal Histories :

Bābur's autobiography, called *Bābur-nāmā* or *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*, is an important source of information about the

Mug͟hal-Af͟ghān relations in the time of that great founder of the Mug͟hal empire in India. Bābur was generous towards the vanquished Af͟ghāns and followed a policy of winning them over to his rule. He arranged a ceremonial funeral for the fallen Af͟ghān Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, and treated generously his mother, who, however returned this magnanimity of the Mug͟hal conqueror by an attempt to poison him. *Bābur-nāma* is a very reliable source. In his Memoirs, Bābur has recorded all the events of his life with his characteristic frankness and sincerity and has never concealed even his failures, personal drawbacks and weaknesses. He claims, "In this history I have held firmly to it that truth shall be reached in every matter and every act should be recorded precisely as it occurred. From this it follows of necessity that I have set down of good or bad whatever is known concerning of father and elder brother, kinsmen and strangers."[1] Indeed it is a faithful representation of Bābur's character and career, his likes and dislikes of persons and things, his conduct and policy to the vanquished enemies.

Gulbadan Begam, the eldest daughter of Bābur, compiled the history of her brother Humāyun in the reign of Emperor Akbar in 995 H./1587 A. D. Her work occasionally throws interesting side-lights on the Mug͟hal-Af͟ghān relations. Humāyun's cup-bearer Jauhar Āftābchī wrote *Taẕkirat al-Wāqi'āt*, dealing with the events of his master's reign, at the order of Emperor Akbar in 995 H./1587 A. D. As an eye-witness of the events of Humāyun's career, Jauhar supplies valuable information which is not available in any other contemporary work.

Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, compiled by Niẓām al-Dīn Ahmad, a Bak͟hshī of the reign of Akbar, is considered as one of the

[1] *Bāburnāma*, I, pp. 318-19.

most celebrated histories of India. Even the erascible Badāunī and encyclopaedic Abūl Faḍl have greatly appreciated the merit of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and expressed their indebtedness for valuable information to this work. Firishta and the author of *Ma'āthir al-Umara* had high praise for Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī and they freely utilised his history in the campilation of their works. Niẓām al-Dīn took part in the Gujrat campaign against the Afghāns and hence had direct knowledge of the Mughal-Afghān relations in that province. As a reliable man and trustworthy character, he supplies substantial materials for the study of the Afghān history. Occasionally however he conceals information, rather than twisting or misrepresenting it, in places where the prestige of his royal master might be affected. For example, he gives a detailed account of Bāz Bahādur, but does not refer to his confinement by Emperor Akbar, while Badāunī has mentioned this fact. Niẓām al-Dīn compiled his work before his death in 1003 H./1595 A. D.

Abūl Faḍl's voluminous history *Akbarnāma* and encyclopaedic work *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* are the most valuable of all the Afghān and Mughal histories of the time, in so far as the large quantity of materials are concerned, especially in reference to the Afghāns in Eastern India. Being a court historian, Abūl Faḍl had great facilities for obtaining materials from various sources and Emperor Akbar also provided for the collection of materials for his work in every conceivable way. Because of this, his works, *Akbarnāma* and *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, are valuable in their quantity as well as quality. As a court historian Abūl Faḍl is naturally to be expected as hostile towards his master's enemies, the Afghāns, and he often mentions them with the epithet of 'Black faced', 'Black fated', 'Wicked', etc. These expressions of Abūl Faḍl have however revealed Akbar's mind towards the Afghāns

and have thus thrown interesting lights on the Mug͟hal-Afg͟hān relations. It is to be noted that Abūl Faḍl used strong terms to the Afg͟hāns for their hostility to the Mug͟hals, but at the same time he also appreciated the talent of the capable Afg͟hāns. He refers to Sher Shāh as a wicked man and Islām Shāh as a person who surpassed even his father in wickedness. He also observes that had they been in the service of a master like Emperor Akbar, they would have earned great renown. Abūl Faḍl also appreciates the genius of Hemu and regrets that Bairām K͟hān killed him. According to him, if Hemu was induced to serve the Emperor, he would have done great things for the empire. These show that Abūl Faḍl did not abstain from recognising the qualities of the enemy Afg͟hāns and never wilfully suppressed facts. He compiled his works before his death in 1011 H./1603 A. D.

Mullā 'Abd al-Qadīr Badāunī's work *Muntak͟hab al-Tawārik͟h*, compiled towards the end of the reign of Emperor Akbar, supplies a good deal of materials for the history of the Afg͟hāns. His information about the administration of Islām Shāh and his successors and also about the Afg͟hān rule in Bengal is important. Although a Mug͟hal by affiliation, Badāunī is favourably disposed towards the Afg͟hāns and he deplores their bad luck. Badāunī had been the eye-witness of many of the events of the Mug͟hal-Afg͟hān relations and hence he occupies a significant position as a contemporary historian of the time. Bāyazīd Biyāt, an attendant companion of K͟hān K͟hānān Mun'im K͟hān, compiled a work known as *Tārīk͟h-i-Humāyun* at the order of Emperor Akbar in 1000 H./1591 A. D. His history deals with the period from 1542 to 1591 A. D. Being in Bengal with his master Mun'im K͟hān, Bāyazīd Biyāt supplies first hand information of that province of his time.

Following his grandfather Bābur, Emperor Jahāngīr wrote his autobiography which is called *Tūzuk Jahāngīrī*. The Emperor himself wrote up to the nineteenth year of his reign, and because of failing health, he gave the work to be continued by Muḥammad Hādī. Like his grandfather, Jahāngīr was frank and sincere in his accounts, although he concealed some facts of his rebellion against his father and marriage with Nūrjahān Begam. His *Tūzuk* is the best source of information about his relations with the Afghāns. It reflects that he sincerely followed conciliating policy towards the Afghāns by elevating them to positions of honour and dignity at his court and won them over to the service of his empire. Another work of great importance representing Jahāngīr's relations with the Afghāns in Bengal is *Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī*. Its author Mīrzā Nathan, a petty officer in Emperor Jahāngīr's Bengal army, came in direct contact with the Afghāns in Bengal and as such he supplies many valuable information to the subject under study.

There are many other Mughāl histories, such as *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī* of Mu'tamid Khān, *Intikhāb-i-Jahāngīr Shāhī* of 'Abd al-Wahāb, *Ma'āthir-i-Jahāngīrī* of Khwāja Kamghar Khān, *Ma'āṭhir-i-Raḥimi* of 'Abd al-Baqī Nihāwandī, *Bādshāhnāma* of 'Abd al-Hamīd Lahorī, *'Amal Ṣāliḥ* of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū, *Muntakhab-al-Lubāb* of Muḥammad Hashīm Khāfi Khān and *Ma'āthir-i-'Alamgīrī* of Musta'id Khān, which provide materials in some aspect or the other of the Mughal-Afghān relations.

Provincial Histories:

The most outstanding of the Provincial historians is Mullā Muḥammad Qāsim Hindu Shāh Firishta, commonly known as Firishta. His work *Gulshān-i-Ibrāhīmī*, better

known as *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, was compiled in 1612 A. D. at the court of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur. Firishta has mostly copied verbatim *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and *Akbarnāma* and is sometimes led away by his sentiment for the Mughals. He has however given a detailed account of the Afghān activities in Gujrat. But the portion of his work dealing with the Afghāns in Eastern India is based on hearsay. The main importance of his work is that it corroborates in many cases the evidence from other sources and occasionally adds a few useful facts about the Afghāns. *Wāqī'āt-i-Mushtāqī* of Rizq Allāh Mushtāqī gives a comprehensive history of the Afghān rule in Northern India. Rizq Allāh's father was in the service of the Afghān rulers from the time of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī and so he had a valuable source of information in the compilation of his work. He was contemporary of 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī and compiled his history in 989 H./1581 A. D. *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* reveals the tribal character of the Afghān sultanate and the great influence of the Afghān chiefs in the state. It also throws light on the administration of Islām Shāh. The *Raudat al-Tāhirīn* of Tāhir Muḥammad is a general history compiled in 1607 A. D. The portion of this work dealing with the Afghāns of Bengal is a useful contribution to the later Afghān history. The *Tārīkh-i-Gujrāt* of Abū Turāb 'Alī and *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī* of Sikandar Manjhū have recorded accounts of the eye-witnesses of the struggle between the Afghāns and Mughals in Gujrat.

Ma'āthir al-Umara of Nawāb Samsam -al- Daulah Shāh Nawāz Khān is an outstanding biographical work on the lives of the Mughal nobles. From this meritorious work an idea of the careers of the Afghān nobles and their position at the Mughal court can be obtained. Shāh Nawāz Khān, who belonged to a Turanian family of Khurasan

which migrated to India in the reign of Emperor Akbar, from his early youth, developed keen interest in the study of history and biography and had an inquiring mind to investigate into the lives of the nobles of the Mughal empire. He began writing his biography of the nobles in 1769 A. D. Before he could finish his work, he died. His son 'Abd al-Hayy, however, carried forward his father's work and completed the *Ma'āthir al-Umara* in 1780 A. D. This work has supplied valuable information on the Mughal-Afghān relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

For the settlement of the Afghāns in the early period of Muslim rule in India and their gradual rise to the position of importance under the sultanate of Delhi, *Tārikh-i-Yamīnī* of Utbī, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* of Minhāj, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Ziā al-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* of Yahya Sirhindī and *Malfuzāt-i-Timūrī* of Amīr Timūr supply valuable information.

The significant Arabic work of *Ibn Batūta* has also proved useful in the compilation of the history of the Afghāns in India. It has enabled to make a comparative study of the court etiquette of the Turkish sulṭāns and the Afghān rulers of this country. It has also supplied useful information about Bengal of his time. A Sanskrit work, *Bhrita Sanhita* of Baraha Mihir, written in the early half of the sixth century of the Christian era, is noteworthy, because it has recorded the existence of the Afghāns in the time of its compilation.

Two Bengali works have been particularly found useful on the Afghāns in Eastern India. These have reflected in many respects the political as well as cultural life of Bengal during the period of Afghān rule. One of these is *Rajmala*, a family chronicle of the kings of Tripura compiled at the

time of Amarmanikya about the year 1586 A. D. The other is *Pratapaditya Charitra* of Ramram Basu. This work is a biography on the life of Pratapaditya, son of Dāud Karranī's minister Srihari Vikramaditya. It has given some rare information, such as Srihari's treachery to Dāud. Though a later work and written in a fanciful style, some of the evidence of *Pratapaditya Charitra* find confirmation from other sources and from the study of the circumstances.

The accounts of the contemporary European travellers in many places reflect the nature of the Afghān people and their attitude towards their Mughal conquerors. These also throw light on the policy of the Mughal emperors towards the vanquished Afghāns. Some of these travellers deserve mention. Thomas Roe came to India as an ambassador from King James I to Emperor Jahāngīr and lived in this country from 1615 to 1619 A. D. He has left a good account of the court of Emperor Jahāngīr. Terry also visited India in 1616 A. D. His accounts of the geography as well as social and economic conditions are useful. He has made incidental references of the Afghāns of his time. *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* of Joanner Laet is a significant European work on the Mughal rule. Laet was a Director of the Dutch East India Company. Though he did not visit India, he however gathered materials for his work from European travellers, missionaries, envoys and others. His work is an useful supplement to the contemporary Persian histories.

The accounts of the French traveller Francois Bernier are valuable in many respects. He was in the Mughal service for some years and lived in India from 1658 to 1667 A. D. He travelled extensively in the Mughal Empire. This enabled Bernier to acquire some personal knowledge about the people and the conditions in the country. His observations

on the Afghāns of the time reveal the relations existing between them and the Mughal rulers in the middle of the seventeenth century. Another significant European work is *Storia De Mogor* of Nicholas Manucci, a Venetian traveller who served several Mughal princes and nobles for some years from 1656 A. D. to 1682. Manucci has also made occasional references of the position of the Afghāns in the Mughal empire.

It needs to be remarked that the European writers of the time were prejudiced in many instances in their reflection on the people and conditions of the country. A careful study of their accounts however supplies plenty of materials for the compilation of the social and economic history of India of their time.

A large number of modern works, journals and periodicals have been consulted in the preparation of the history of the Afghāns in India. It will be a long affair to examine the merits of these publications. These have however been mentioned in the *Bibliography* which has been added at the end of this book.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN OF THE AFGHĀNS AND THEIR RISE TO THE SULTANATE OF DELHI

In writing of the Afghāns in India, one is naturally interested in the questions, who were they, when did they come and settle in India and how did they rise to the sultanate of Delhi. Indeed the establishment of the Afghān sultanate in Northern India in 1451 A. D. cannot be treated as a sudden and unconnected event in history. Hence, an investigation into the earlier history of the Afghāns forms an essential introduction to the present thesis.

The Afghāns claim to be descended from Jewish stock regarding Afghāna, a grandson of king Saul and commander-in-chief of the famous king Solomon, as their traditional ancestor. If this pretension is accepted, then the Afghāns must be considered a people of the great Semitic race.

The theory of the Jewish origin of the Afghāns propounded by the Afghān chronicler Ni'mat Allāh[1] in the seventeenth century has been propagated by all the subsequent Afghān historians and chroniclers.[2] According to this theory, the descendants of Afghāna, living in Palestine, were taken captive first by the Assyrian king Sargon II (722 B. C.) and then by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (586 B. C.). After the fall of the Babylonian empire, the captive Jews came to Kohistān, the mountainous region in Afghanistan, and settled there.[3]

This theory has appealed to some modern scholars.

[1] *M.*, 3b-9b.

[2] *Khulāṣat al Ansāb*, 15a and 29a-b; *Akhbār-i-Maḥabbat*, 3a and 6a.

[3] *M.*, 22a-b.

Bellew, Sir William Jones and others have lent their support to it on the following grounds. First, they find a striking resemblance to the Jews in the Afghāns' tall and well built body, fair complexion, blue eyes, brown head and especially the long nose slightly curved. Secondly, the common names, Ibrāhīm, Mūsa, 'Isa, Dāud, Yūsuf, Sulaimān, etc., the common title of *Malik*, and particularly the existence of the Sulaimān mountain in their territory, have been adduced as proof of this origin by the upholders of the theory. Moreover, there are the similar customs and usages found among the Jews and Afghāns, for example, the sprinkling of the blood of an animal over the doorposts of a house where a sick person resides, placing of the sins of the people upon a heifer in the same manner as the Biblical scapegoat, the offering up of sacrifices and the stoning to death of blasphemers. Lastly, their tribal spirit and clannish temperament are considered to strengthen the theory of the Jewish origin of the Afghāns.[1]

The theory of the Semitic origin of the Afghāns does not, however, stand the test of serious analysis. The resemblance in features cannot be considered as providing a scientific criterion for grouping different peoples into one race. The Sumerians resemble the Aryans in features, though they are not considered to have any affiliations with the Aryan people. The portrait of the Kusana kings found in their coins has the same type of features. But they are certainly neither Afghāns nor Semites.[2]

Dr. C. C. Davies has rightly pointed out that the use of Biblical names and customs is common to all Muslims and

1 Davies—*The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, pp. 42-3; Raverty—*Notes on Afghanistan*, *JASB.*, 1875.

2 Davies, 42; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *I*, p. 149.

the Prophet himself adopted them from the Jews around him.[1] The title of *Malik*, was in general use among the Turkish nobles of India. The tribal spirit and clannish temperament are, in fact, the general characteristics of every mountainous or Beduin people of the world.

Other evidence also suggests the implausibility of the theory. It seems unlikely that, after their captivity, the Jews should come to mountainous Afghanistan instead of returning to their native land Palestine. What fascination did barren Afghanistan exercise to induce them to leave behind the fertile lands of Iraq and Iran? Again, why should the Persian empire allow these people to enter and cross its territories?

Judged by language, which is a most useful criterion for deciding the race of a people, the Afghāns cannot be said to have any affiliation with the Semites. According to Grierson, the eminent linguist, Pashtu, the language of the Afghāns, is a sub-group of the Eastern group of Iranian languages.[2] In his analysis of the Pashtu language, another oriental linguist, Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah, has shown that there is not a single word of the Semitic languages in Pashtu.[3] Professors Raverty and Dowson also have found no trace of Hebrew in the language of the Afghāns;[4] and it seems incredible that the whole race has, in course of time, completely changed their language without trace. Pashtu is an admixture of Sanskrit and Persian and this suggests the Indo-Iranian origin of the Afghāns.

According to Firishta, the Afghāns were descended from certain nobles of the court of Pharaohs of Egypt and,

[1] Davies, 43.

[2] *Grierson—Linguistic Survey of India*, I, p. 493 and X, p. 9.

[3] *A paper read in a seminar of the Pakistan Asiatic Society, June, 1952.*

[4] Raverty—*Notes on Afghanistan*, *JASB.*, 1875.

refusing to accept the faith of Moses, they left Egypt and came to Kohistān.[1] This contradicts the original theory and weakens its force.

If the accounts of the origin of the Afghāns show a strange diversity, so do accounts of the name Pathan, which is also applied to the Afghāns. Ni'mat Allāh has advanced a fantastic story that a descendant of Afghāna, 'Abd al-Rashīd Kais, obtained the conferment of the title 'Pathan', meaning the wood used as a keel of the ship, from the Prophet in recognition of his gallantry. Being the descendants of 'Abd al-Rashīd Kais Pathan, the Afghāns are called Pathans.[2] Firishta, on the other hand, says that the people called the Afghāns, living in Patna, as Patans.[3] Percy Sykes, however, maintains that the Pathan is a speaker of Pashtū.[4] It is a reasonable explanation that the name Pathan is a linguistic term and has been derived from Pashtūn or Pakhtūn, the plural forms of Pashtū. Pashtūn or Pakhtūn is used to denote all Pashtū-speaking Afghān people.[5] Hence, linguistically an Afghān is a Pathan.

The name Afghān first occurs as 'Avagāna' in *Bhrita Sanhita* in the middle of the sixth century.[6] The name Pathan, on the other hand, came to be used in the sixteenth century by Firishta and other historians.[7]

The home country of the Afghāns was known to the Indian historians as Roh (a Pashtu word meaning mountain), which extended in length from Swat and Bijaur in the North-

1 *F.*, I, p. 29.
2 *M.*, 39a.
3 *F.*, I, p. 29.
4 Sykes—*History of Afghanistan*, I, p. 13.
5 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p. 149.
6 Kern, H.—Varaha Mihir's *Bhrita Sanhita*, *verse*, 11.61 and 16.38.
7 Briggs—*Firishta*, I, p. 552; *F.*, I, p. 29 and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p. 149.

West Province to the district of Bukkur in Sind and in breadth from Hasan Abdal in the North-West Frontier Province to Kabul. Qandahar and Sulaimān mountains lay within the confines of Roh.[1]

The mountainous nature of the country, with its small widely separated areas of cultivable land, fostered in the Afghāns a tribal and individualistic spirit. This spirit characterises them even in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. So, Dr. C. C. Davies writes, "The Pathan is intensely democratic and refuses to obey even his tribal chiefs or maliks, unless they are great warriors or blood-thirsty, fearless desparadoes."[2]

The poverty of the soil made the Afghāns ready to leave their homes. Thus we read in the history of Firishta and others that, in about 766 A. D., they occupied Peshawar and other places belonging to Raja Jayapala, the ruler of the Panjab and Kashmir. After a fruitless struggle of some months, Jayapala, who had also to face the rising Ghaznavid power, made peace with the Afghāns by allowing them to settle in some places of Lamaghan. The Afghāns then erected a fort in the mountains off Peshawar which they called Khaibar.[3]

Later Subuktagīn realized the importance of the fighting material in the Afghāns and, enrolling them in his army, he favoured them in every possible way. They continued to be appointed as mercenaries in the army of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī.[4] Muḥammad Ghorī and Quṭb al-Dīn engaged them as hirelings in the conquest of India.[5] It is known

1 *'Abbās*, 10, 5a; *T.*, II, p. 140; *F.*, I, p. 30; *M.*, 40b.

2 Davies, 47.

3 *F.*, I, p. 29; Grierson, X, p. 7.

4 Utbi—*Tārīkh-i-Yaminī*, Aligarh Elliot, II, pp. 2 and 32; Grierson, X, p. 7.

5 *M.*, 39b.

from the contemporary historian Minhāj al-Sirāj that Sulṭān Nāsir al-Dīn Maḥmūd's noble Ulugh Khān employed in 1260 A. D. 3,000 Afghāns in subduing the hill tribes of Mewat.[1]

The Afghāns came into prominence in the reign of Sulṭān Balban, who employed them as garrisons with assignments of lands for their maintenance to secure Delhi against the turbulent Mewatis.[2] These Afghān colonies, in the south-west vicinity of Delhi, came to be known as Afghānpūr.[3] Balban also settled the Afghāns in Bhojpur, Kampil and Patiali, three principal centres of disaffection, disturbance and robbery.[4] The fact that 'Alā al-Dīn Khaljī had an Afghān *amīr* whom Baranī calls Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Mal Afghān[5] shows that the Khaljī sulṭāns continued to employ the Afghāns.

The employment of the Afghāns in large numbers in the army of the Turkish sultanate of Delhi and the elevation of some of them to the amīrate of the court must have brought fresh streams of Afghāns into India. By the time of Muḥammad Tughlaq, they became a fairly powerful community in the empire and this is reflected in their rebellions and ambitions in Multan, Daulatabad and Gujrat.

Malik Shāhū Afghān, who had made himself strong with the adherence of his people, killed the governor of Multan and seized the power of the province.[6] The situation became so serious that the Sulṭān had to advance in person. At the approach of the Sulṭān, Shāhū Afghān escaped

1 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, 381.
2 Baranī, 57.
3 Ibid, 452.
4 Ibid, 57-8. The places are in modern Farrukhabad district, in U. P.
5 Ibid, 241.
6 Baranī, 482; Yahya, 106-7.

to Afghānistan with his followers. The rebellion of Shāhū was followed by severe restrictions on the Afghāns in the empire. Thereupon the Afghāns rose in violent rebellion in Daulatabad. They drove away the imperial officers and made Isma'il Makh Afghān as their king.[1] Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq came to deal with the rebels. Isma'il Makh Afghān and his associates left Daulatabad. After the Sulṭān had left Daulatabad, they returned to the city and re-occupied it. There was however scramble for power among the Afghān and other chiefs. In this Isma'il Makh Afghān failed and a chief named Ḥasan Kangū seized power and established the Bahmani kingdom in Daulatabad. About this time, the Afghāns rebelled in Gujrat under their leader Malik Tāghī. It was with great difficulty that the rebels were dispersed.[2]

These Afghān rebellions in various provinces failed. These however indicate the political importance of the Afghāns in the period of the Tughlaq sultanate. The Afghān importance continued in the reign of Fīrūz Tughlaq. Ni'mat Allāh says that Sulṭān Fīrūz greatly favoured the Afghāns.[3] Indeed in his time two Afghān chiefs are found in responsible positions. He gave the government (*iqta'*) of Bihar to Malik Bīr Afghān and of Sambhal and Katihar (Rohilkhand) to Malik Khitāb Afghān.[4]

Amīr Timūr's invasion brought a fresh stream of Afghāns into this country and he gave them Doab in the Panjab for settlement. Timūr's autobiography refers to some Afghān chiefs in his retinue and the appointment of an Afghān,

1 Baranī, 514; Yahya, 111-12.

2 *Mubārak Shāhi* (Tr.), 115-16; Mahdi Hasan—*Muhammad Tughlaq*, 180-82.

3 *Makhzān-i-Afghāna*, 41a.

4 Yahya, p. 133 and 135.

Mustafa Kābulī, to the government of Dipalpur.[1]

Thus by the end of the fourteenth century, the Afghāns had developed into a politically important community settled in the nerve-centre of Northern India, such as Doab in the Panjab and Katihar, the territories adjoining to the imperial capital Delhi. The people who had hitherto served as hirelings, found the political supremacy within their grasp. The civil wars among the successors of Fīrūz Tughlaq and the consequent confusion in the country enabled the Afghāns to absorb more power in the sultanate.

On the evidence of Firishta, some scholars hold that Daulat Khān, who occupied the throne for a few months in 1414 on the eve of the establishment of the Saiyid sultanate, was an Afghān. There is however no contemporary evidence to support this view. Yahya Sirhindī has specified even the small Afghān officers with their tribal titles, such as Asad Khān Lodī and Sarangkhānī, who were in the service of the last Tughlaq Sulṭān Maḥmūd.[2] If Daulat Khān, who rose to kingly dignity, was a Lodī, the contemporary historian would have noticed it. Moreover, the Afghān historians, who pride themselves in the performances of their predecessors and recorded their achievements from the earliest times, would never have omitted the rise of Daulat Khān to kingly dignity, if he belonged to the Afghān race. Except Firishta, no other Persian historian has referred to Daulat Khān as an Afghān. On the other hand, *Tarīkh-i-Ḥaqqī* and *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* mention him as a prince of the family of Fīrūz Tughlaq.[3]

Although Daulat Khān was not an Afghān, it is however

1 *Malfuzat-i-Timūrī*, Elliot, III, p. 420; *Makh.* 41b and Grierson, vol. X, p. 8.

2 Yahya, 156 and 176.

3 Quoted in R. P. Tripathi's *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration.*

certain that the Afghāns rose to political importance in the later Tughlaq period. Their influence rose higher in the Saiyid sultanate of Delhi. Sulṭān Shāh Lodī, entitled Islām Khān, was appointed as governor of Sirhind by Mubārak Shāh.[1] He was succeeded in that office by his nephew and son-in-law Bahlūl Lodī, who was soon to be the most influential figure in the court of the Saiyid sulṭāns and received the title of Khān Khānān from them. The incompetence of 'Alā al-Dīn 'Ālam Shāh, the factious spirit of the amīrs and the consequent confusion in the country offered Bahlūl an opportunity to organise the Afghāns under his leadership and to make a bid for the throne of Delhi. United under a good organiser, the Afghāns succeeded in 1451 in obtaining the sovereignty of Northern India. They made Bahlūl Lodī their king and realised the dream of establishing their rule in this country.

[1] Yahya, 195 and Firishta, I, p. 317.

CHAPTER III

THE NATURE OF THE AFGHĀN MONARCHY AND THE POSITION OF THE AFGHĀN CHIEFS

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Afghāns of India were essentially a tribal people in their nature, behaviour, social institutions, associations and political ideas. So, the monarchy they established in this country represented their tribal peculiarities. Their quarrelsome nature, rough and unruly behaviour, their great attachment to their own tribes and tribal chiefs and their love of tribal independence determined the character of the Afghān monarchy in India.

The Afghān chiefs, secure in the allegiance of their respective tribes, enjoyed great power and position either as *jairdārs* or as courtiers of the Afghān kings. They looked upon the king as a comrade and only as a first among equals. Some of the Afghān kings, Ibrāhīm Lodī, Islām Shāh and 'Ādil Shāh, however, tried to curb their power and increase the power and position of the king for the sake of establishing an efficient centralised administration in the sultanate. This brought in severe conflicts between two opposing forces—the idea of tribal independence held by the chiefs and the idea of strong monarchy and centralised government adopted by the kings.

A tribal people in nature :

According to their own historian Ni'mat Allāh, the Afghāns formed 345 tribes.[1] A few of them, the Lodīs, Lohānīs, Sūrs, Farmūlīs, Sarwānīs, Niyāzīs, Kārkars,

[1] *M.* 205b.

Karranīs and others rose to political importance in India.

Although the Afghāns acquired supreme power in Northern India, yet, like all other tribal peoples, they maintained their tribal habits and institutions. The Afghān historian 'Abbās says that quarrelling, disputing and fighting were the chief characteristics of the Afghāns in the sixteenth century.[1] His evidence is corroborated by Sher Shāh's remark that it was customary with one Afghān tribe to destroy the other, if the former had four men more than the latter.[2] Sher Shāh often lamented over the factious nature of his people and repeatedly emphasised that they lost the sultanate to the Mughals only because of their internal discords.[3] The evidence of Sher Shāh is accepted not because he was an Afghān, who could speak with some authority about his own people, but because an examination of the causes of the fall of the Afghān sultanate in 1526 shows that their quarrelsome nature prepared conditions for their great misfortune. The Afghāns were so quarrelsome and unruly that they did not feel shy of fighting disputes with swords and killing one another in the royal court, as they did in the court of Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil.[4] That they retained this nature even in the eighteenth century is seen from an answer given to Elphinstone by an Afghān, "We are content with discord, we are content with alarms, we are content with blood, but we can never be content with a master."[5]

1 'Abbās, 10, 121a; BM., 79b.

2 Ibid, 33b-34a, BM. 23b, *M.*, 96b.

درقبائل افغنه مقرر است که هرکهء نفر از دیگری زیاده
دارد در هلاک دیگری میکشته

3 Ibid, 29b; BM. 20b-21a.

4 *T.*, II, p. 120-1; *B.*, I, p. 419-20; *M.*, 163 a-b; *F.*, I, p. 439.

5 Dorn, Preface, vi.

The quarrelsome nature of the Afghāns was largely due to their revengeful spirit. An Afghān must have his revenge on the wrong-doer. This would cause bloodfeuds between one tribe and another and this would continue for generations. Even in the reign of Sher Shāh, such a bloodfeud was on the point of breaking out between the Sūrs and the Niyāzīs over the death of Mubārak Khān Sūr. The prudence of Sher Shāh and the timely action of Āẓ'am Humāyun Niyāzī, however, saved the situation.[1]

Some small incidents show how the Afghāns nourished their spirit of revenge. In the reign of Islām Shāh, Shujā-'at Khān, the governor of Malwa, cut off the hands of an Afghān named 'Uthmān for his misdemeanours. On Uthmān's complaint, Islām Shāh said to him, "You are an Afghān ; go and revenge yourself on him."[2] In fact, 'Uthmān had his revenge on Shujā'at Khān by wounding him in an attempt on his life. In 1545 after seizing Jalāl Khān Jallū and his brother Khudādād, Islām Shāh made them over to an Afghān, who had bloodfeud with them, and they eventually killed them.[3]

The revengeful spirit characterised the Afghāns even in the nineteenth century. Briggs tells us that the Afghān revenge became proverbial in India and it was said that a man was never safe from the revenge of an elephant, a snake or an Afghān."[4] The writings of Dr. C. C. Davies reveal the prevalence of bloodfeud among them even in the twentieth century. He says, "The tribes are prepetually at feud,

1 'Abbās, 10., 116b-119a; BM., 77a-8b.

2 *D.*, BM., 108b; *T.*, II, p. 113; *Raḥīmī*, I, p. 193:

تو هم افغانی برو انتقام خود را از وی بگیر

3 *B.*, I, p. 378; *T.*, II, p. 111.

4 Briggs—*Firishta*, I, p. 547.

tribe with tribe, clan with clan, and family with family. There is hardly a Pathan whose hand is not stained with the blood of his hereditary enemies. The fury of the Pathan vendetta finds its European counterpart in the modern Albanian bloodfeud."[1]

A tribal people in behaviour and culture:

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Afghāns, in their manners and behaviour as well as culture, did not very much surpass the tribal stage of life. Bābur wanted to conciliate them on political grounds.[2] He, however, greatly disliked their uncouth behaviour and referred to them as a rustic people.[3] The Mughals felt themselves uncomfortable at the Afghān court. Mīrzā Afsar al-Dīn, a rebellious noble, fled from the court of Akbar and took shelter with the Afghan chief Mūsa Khān Fūlādī at Patan in Gujrat. He, however, left the Fūlādī court on account of the rough behaviour of the Afghāns and joined Chengīz Khān, another chief of Gujrat.[4]

It might be argued that Bābur who was a Mughal and Sikandar, who wrote at the time of the Mughals, could not be fair to the Afghāns, the enemies of the Mughals. But the evidence gathered from other sources confirms this impression about their behaviour. When it is remembered that, in spite of his long association with the refined court of Khān Khānān 'Abdur Raḥīm, Daulat Khān Lodī, an Afghān noble in Mughal service, behaved very discourteously to Abūl Faḍl and Prince Daniyāl, [5] one is naturally led to believe that the Afghāns remained unpolished in their

1 Davies—*The North-West Frontier*, p. 49.

2 See Chapter X.

3 *Wāqi'āt-i-Bābri*, MS., 466; *B. N.*, II, p. 341.

4 *Mir'at S.*, 338a; Fazlullāh—*Mir'at S.*, p. 293.

5 *Ma'āṭhir* I, pp. 7-8.

manners and were inferior to the Mughals in refinement. Comparison of the behaviour of the Afghāns and of the Mughals further confirms this conclusion.

Two parallel incidents will illustrate this point. Being dispossessed of Kabul by his brother Humāyun, Kāmrān came to take shelter at the court of Islām Shāh. As he did not perform the customary salutation to their king, the Afghān chamberlain violently seized his neck and forced him to bow down.[1] This is really a contrast to the decent behaviour of Bābur to the Afghān chief Biban, who, in violation of the court etiquette, sat in his presence. Bābur, however, did not impose his court ceremonial on the rustic Afghān chief.[2]

On account of their factious spirit and uncouth behaviour, the Afghāns, in spite of their long association with the Indians, remained a strange people to them. The incident that occurred in the *Jām'-i-Masjid* of Delhi a few days after Bahlūl Lodī's accession illustrates it. While reading the *Khuṭba* Mullā Fāḍil observed that they had an extraordinary tribe of rulers and he did not know, if they were followers of the arch-fiend or arch-fiends themselves.[3] The Afghān historian 'Abd Allāh has narrated this incident to show the goodness of Bahlūl that he did not punish the preacher. We, however, see in the remark of Fāḍil an indication of the Indian Muslims' attitude towards their new masters. In their eyes, the Afghāns were a strange people and inferior to them in culture.

1 *B.*, I, pp. 389-90; *T.*, II, p. 79; *A.N.*, I, p. 325.
2 *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburi*, MS., p. 466; *B. N.*, II, p. 466.
3 *D.*, BM., 9a; School, pp. 10-11:
سبحان الله عجب قومے پیدا شدند نمیداند پیش‌رو دجال اند یا دجال در ایشان باشد

Being a strange people to the Indians, the Afghāns could not enlist their sympathy and support. So, we see that some persons of Delhi and Agra informed Humāyun of the death of Islām Shāh and of the discord of the Afghāns and invited him to India.[1]

A tribal people in social institutions :

The social institutions of the Afghāns, particularly their marriage, reflect tribal basis of their society in the fifteenth and sixteenth century India. They usually married within the tribe and disfavoured marriage outside the tribe. Numerous instances may be cited to show the prevalence of tribal marriage among the Afghāns. We shall, however, illustrate the point by a few typical examples.

Bahlūl's father Malik Kālā and Bahlūl himself married their own cousins.[2] As the marriage of the Lodī Afghāns took place within their tribe, so also other Afghāns used to marry within their own tribes. Islām Shāh Sūr,[3] Ibrahim Khān Sūr[4] and Sikandar Khan Sūr[5] married the daughters of Niẓām Khān Sūr, the younger brother of Sher Shāh. Sulaimān Karranī's daughter married her cousin Hansu Karranī.[6] 'Uṯhmān Lohānī's daughter was married to her nephew Dāud, a son of Sulaimān Lohānī.[7] Walī Lohānī married a daughter of Walī Mandūkhail Lōhānī.[8]

There are instances which prove that the Afghāns

1 *F.*, I, p. 456; *A.N.*, I, p. 336.
2 *F.*, I, p. 317.
3 *B.*, I, p. 416
4 *Ibid*, 421; M., 164a.
5 *T.*, II, p. 172.
6 *D.*, School, p. 162.
7 *Bahāristān*, I, p. 173.
8 *Ibid.*

disliked marriage outside the tribe. Mubārak Khān Sūr, a nephew of Sher Shāh, being enamoured of a beautiful daughter of Allahdād Khān Niyāzī, proposed to marry her. The Niyāzī chief, who considered his tribe to be more aristocratic in blood, refused the proposal of a member of the reigning Sūr family. Disappointed Mubārak, however, tried to force him ; but this resulted in a bloody dispute and the death of Mubārak.[1]

The Afghāns detested marriage with the non-Afghāns. In 1561 on his way to Makkah, Bariām Khān halted at Patan and settled the betrothal of his son 'Abdur Raḥīm with a daughter of Islām Shāh. The news of this betrothal displeased the Afghāns and they killed him.[2] Other factors, such as Afghān hatred towards the Mughals and the desire of Mubārak Khān Lohānī to avenge the death of his father in the battle of Macchiwara, also contributed to the assassination of Bairām Khān. But, considering that the Afghān chief Sher Khān Fūlādī received the fallen Mughal *vakīl* and a pilgrim as his guest and he afterwards connived at the murder, one is naturally led to conclude that the betrothal accounted for his connivance.

Intermarriage would in exceptional cases take place. The Afghāns, however, denied the children of such marriage the status of a pure born Afghān. Islām Khān Lodī preferred his nephew Bahlūl to his son Quṭb Khān to be his successor, as the latter was born of a non-Afghān mother and would not be accepted as leader by the Afghāns.[3]

According to Elphinstone, tribal marriage prevailed among the Afghāns even in the early part of the nineteenth

[1] 'Abbās, 10' f. 116—b-9 b; BM., 77a-8b.

[2] *B.*, *II*, p. 45; *A.N.*, I, p. 131; *Mir'at A.*, I, p. 93.

[3] *F.*, I, p. 317; *Afsān-i-Shāhān*, 14b.

century.[1]

Allegiance to tribal chiefs and settlement on tribal lines :

The Afghāns attached themselves to their respective tribal chiefs and settled on tribal lines, so as to form different tribal zones in India. Islām Khān Lodī, the governor of Sirhind under the Saiyid sulṭāns of Delhi, had in his service 12,000 Afghāns of his own tribe.[2] Sher Shāh's grandfather Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr joined the service of Mahābat Khān Sūr and settled in Bajwara in the Panjab with his family and followers.[3] Most of the Sarwānīs attached themselves to their chief Ā'ẓam Humāyun Sarwānī, the *jagirdār* of Cawnpur, and they were settled in that area.[4] It is also known that Ḥasan Khān Sūr, the father of Sher Shāh, attached to himself his relations and kindred as his followers.[5] The Niyāzī Afghāns are also found attached to their chiefs.[6] In a similar way, the Farmulī, Lohānī, Karranī, Kākar and other Afghāns lived under their respective chiefs in the areas, which they held in *jagir*.

A picture of the Afghān settlement on tribal lines and of their tribal zones in India in the Lodī period (1451-1526) may be obtained from the accounts of Rizq Allāh, whose father Sa'd Allāh served Miyān Zain al-Dīn and his sons at Agra for fifty-five years. His accounts are corroborated by those of Babur, 'Abbās and other Mughal historians. In this period, the Shāhūkhail Lodīs of the family of Bahlūl were generally settled in Delhi, Agra, Kalpi, Chandwar

[1] Elphinstone—*An Account of the Kingdom of Cabul*, I, p. 237.
[2] *F.*, I, p. 317.
[3] 'Abbās, 10, f. 5a; BM., 4b.
[4] Ibid, 21a; BM., 15b.
[5] *T.*, II, p. 87.
[6] *T.*, II, p. 102.

and Lucknow.[1] Other branches of the Lodīes, such as the Yusufkhails and the Sarangkhānīs settled in Lahore[2] and Jaunpur[3] respectively. Saran, Champaran, Oudh, Shahabad, Thanesvar and Kanauj formed the zones of the Farmulī Afghāns.[4] The Lohānīs colonised Ghazipur and Bihar.[5] Cawnpur, Kara and Etawa were the areas of the Sarwānī Afghāns.[6] The Sūrs were settled in the *parganas* of Chaund, Sahsaram and Khwaspur Tanda in South Bihar.[7]

The battle of Panipat in 1526 caused some Afghāns to settle outside the Mughal territories. Bābur, however, did not disturb the zones of those Afghāns, who submitted to his rule. He left Oudh,[8] Saran[9] and other places in the prossession of the Farmulīs. The Sarwānīs retained Kara.[10] Bābur also allowed the Lohānīs[11] and the Sūrs[12] to hold their respective areas, as they promised to be loyal to the Mughal throne.

In the Sūr Afghān period (1540-1556) also the Afghāns are found settled on tribal lines. The Sūrs lived in Delhi, Chunar[13] and Gwalior.[14] The Sarwānīs settled in Lucknow, Kant, Gola and Tilhar.[15] Oudh and Kanauj continued

1 & 2 *W. M.*, 67b.
3 *Ibid*, 35a.
4 *Ibid*, 65a; 'Abbās, 10, 51a-b; BM., 35b.
5 *B. N.*, II, 523 and 527; 'Abbās, BM., 6a and 17a; *T.*, I, p. 351.
6 *W.M.*, 34b; 'Abbās, BM., 15b; *B.N.*, II, p. 523.
7 'Abbās, BM., 6a and 17a; *T.*, II, p. 89 and 86.
8 Ibid, BM., 34b; 10, f. 51a.
9 *B. N.*, II, p. 675.
10 *B. N.*, II, p. 537; *A. N.*, I, p. 104.
11 & 12 *Ibid*, 659, 669, 676; 652 and 659.
13 Sher Shāh kept his treasure at Chunar. 'Ādil made it his capital.
14 Islām Shāh made Gwalior his capital.
15 'Abbās, 10, 107a-b; BM., 70a and 57b. The places mentioned are in modern district of Shahjahanpur.

to be the zone of the Farmulīs.[1] The Niyāzīs settled in the Panjab under their chief Ā'ẓam Humāyun Haibat Khān.[2] The Karranīs got their home in Khwaspur Tanda and other Gangetic *parganas* in South Bihar.[3] The Kākars colonised Milwat, Nagarkot, Jwala and Dihdawal near the Jammu hills.[4] As the Lodīs had sank in political importance we do not get any reference to their settlement in the contemporary records.

Even in the eighteenth century, the Afghāns settled in Rohilkhand on tribal lines. The Afghān historian Mahabat Khān writes that they belonged to 52 different tribes and each tribe had a separate *maḥalla* (quarter) in the city of Shahjahanpur, the early seat of their power in Rohilkhand.[5]

The settlement of the Afghāns on tribal lines and their attachment to their respective tribal chiefs suggest that the latter, secure in the support of their own tribal peoples, could exercise great authority over the areas, which they received as *jagirs* from the king.

Position of the chiefs as jagirdārs :

Bahlūl Lodī (1451-87), the founder of the Afghān sultanate in Northern India, parcelled out the kingdom among the Afghān chiefs, who had joined him in the conquest of the country and helped him against his enemies. When Delhi was attacked by the Sharqi sulṭān Maḥmūd of Jaunpur, he invited the Afghāns of Roh saying, "God has given the kingdom of Delhi to the Afghāns, but the other kings wish

1 *B.*, I, p. 419-20; *T.*, II, p. 120.
2 'Abbās, BM., 70a; *T.*, II, pp. 111-12; *B.*, I, p. 380.
3 *B.*, I, p. 420; *T.*, II, p. 121-2.
4 'Abbās, 10, 107a; BM., 70a. The places are between Kangra and Lahore.
5 *Akhbār-i- Moḥabbat.* 656.

to expel them. Come to this country. The name of sovereignty will remain with me, but the territories we have acquired and may conquer will be shared among us as brothers."[1] True to this word, Bahlūl gave a *jagir* to every Afghān chief, who helped him.[2] As the powerful Farmulī and Lohānī chiefs came in large numbers and joined him in the conquest, he gave them one half of the kingdom in *jagirs* and assigned the other half to other Afghān tribes.[3]

Having acquired *jagirs*, the Afghān chiefs settled there on tribal lines. They considered the *jagirs* as theirs by right and not a favour from the king and they held possession of them in hereditary succession. It is known from 'Abbās that Oudh, which was the *jagir* of Miyān Kālā Pahār Farmulī in the reign of Bahlūl Lodī, passed in hereditary right to his daughter Fatḥ Malika and her husband Mustafa Farmulī at the time of Ibrāhīm Lodī.[4]

The Lohānīs held their *jagir* in Bihar for three generations[5] and in the chieftainship Dariyā Khān was succeeded by his son Bihār Khān and then by his grandson Jalāl Khān. Farīd enjoyed his father's *jagir* in Sahsaram in hereditary succession. The family of Daulat Khān Lodī Yusufkhail held their *jagir* in the Panjab for thirty years.[6] The other Afghāns also maintained the same hereditary right in their *jagirs*.

The *jagirdārs* enjoyed great authority over the area of their *jagirs*. In their territories they were practically sup-

1 'Abbās, 10, 3a-b; BM., 3b.

سبحانه تعاله سلطنت ملک دهلی بافغانان عنایت نمود است

2 Ibid, 10., 4b; BM., 4b.

3 *W. M.*, 67b.

4 'Abbās, 10., 51a-b; BM., 34b.

5 *M.*, 96b.

6 *Shāhī*, 89; *B. N.*, I, pp. 439-40.

reme. Farīd, as the deputy of his father, made new arrangements with the soldiers, the *zamīndārs* and the subjects. The *jagirdār* could also portion his *jagir* among his sons. We see that Ḥasan Khān Sūr, in his life time, assigned separate *jagirs* to his sons.[2] Shujā'at Khān also divided his *jagir* in Malwa among his sons.[3]

The *jagirdārs* kept troops of their own to maintain local peace and to help the king in times of need. During the period of the Lodī sultanate, Jamāl Khān Lodī Sarangkhānī and his son Aḥmad, the *jagirdārs* of Jaunpur, kept 20,000 horses.[4] Tātār Khān Lodī Yusufkhail, who had a *jagir* in the Panjab, commanded 15,000 cavalry.[5] Muḥammad Khān Sūr, the *jagirdār* of Chaund, and Ḥasan Khān Sur, the *jagirdār* of Sahsaram, kept 1,500 and 500 horses, respectively.[6] The powerful Sarwānī chief A'ẓam Humāyun had under him 45,000 cavalry and 700 elephants in his *jagir* at Kara.[7]

The big *jagirdārs* could delegate their military authority to a number of subordinate chiefs with assignment of *jagirs* and thus create their respective groups of loyal lieutenants. In the reign of Sikandar Lodī (1487-1517), A'ẓam Humāyun Sarwānī made Saif Khān, Daulat Khān, 'Ālī Khān and Fīrūẓ Khān his subordinate chiefs by conferring on them the command of 6,000, 4,000, and 6,000, respectively.[8] Jamāl Khān Lodī also gave Ḥasan Sūr the command of 500

1 *M*., 86a.

2 'Abbās, 10, 23a; BM., 16b.

3 *T*., III, p. 421; *Rahimi*, I, p. 196.

4 *W. M*., 35a; 'Abbās (BM., 6a) says that Aḥmad maintained 12,000 horse.

5 *D*., School, p. 27.

6 'Abbās, BM., 6a and 17a: *T*., II. p. 86 and 89.

7 *W. M*., 34b.

8 *Ibid*, 35a.

horse and a *jagir* in Sahsaram.[1]

The soldiers of the *jagirdārs* were the men of their own tribes. They were also paid by them in fiefs.[2] Being the men of their tribes and paid by them, the soldiers were naturally attached to the chiefs and the *jagirdārs*.

Jagirdārs in the Sūr period :

In the Sūr Afghān period (1540-56) also, the *jagir* system and the ideas of the time of the Lodīs regarding the *jagir* held sway. Sher Shāh restored the Afghān sultanate in India with the help of the Afghān chiefs and as such he had to staisfy them by the grant of *jagirs*. There is contemporary evidence which proves beyond doubt that Sher Shāh granted *jagirs* to his Afghān chiefs.

In the reign of Sher Shāh (1540-45), Shujā'at Khān held Malwa in *jagir*.[3] According to 'Abbās, Sher Shāh at first assigned the *parganas* of Kant, Gola and Tilhar as a *jagir* to 'Isa Khān Sarwānī and later on the *sarkār* of Sambal was added to his area.[4] The Karranīs received Khwaspur Tanda and the Gangetic parganas in South Bihar as their *jagir*.[5] In 1542 after Khiḍr Khān's rebellion, Sher Shāh divided Bengal in *jagirs* among some tribal chiefs.[6]

The Niyāzīs had their *jagirs* in the Panjab and Multan. The area under them was a fairly big one. They were at the same time, however, a turbulent and ambitious people.

1 'Abbās, 10, 6b; BM., 6a.

2 Ibid, 10b; BM., 8b; *T.*, I, p. 335; *D.*, School, p. 31.

3 Ibid, 114-6b; BM., 71a and 75a.

4 Ibid, 107b; 70a.

5 *B.*, I, p. 420; *T.*, II, pp. 121-2.

6 Ibid, 355; *F.*, I, p. 425; 'Abbās, 10, 87b; *D.*, School, 92a. 'Abbās says that Sher Shāh established ملوک طوایف in Bengal.

'Abbās says that Sher Shāh intended to remove them from the Panjab, but before he could do this he died.[1] It was not however his death but rather the dictates of prudence and military necessity which prevented Sher Shāh from removing the Niyāzīs. The powerful Niyāzī chief A'zam Humāyun, who had distinguished himself in many a campaign of Sher Shāh and in the conquest of Multan, ranked as one of the pillars of the restored sultanate. Political expediency forbade him from alienating such a powerful chief. Moreover, the defence of the north-west frontier against the expelled Emperor Humāyun demanded that the Panjab was to be in the hands of a powerful chief and in a tranquil state.

The *jagirdārs* of the Sūr period also kept their own troops. A'zam Humāyun Niyāzī commanded 30,000 horse[2] and Shujā'at Khān 12,000 horse.[3] 'Abbās informs that, while conferring Sambal on 'Isa Khan Sarwānī, Sher Shāh asked him to keep an additional cavalry force of 5,000 to maintain peace in the troublesome Sambal area.[4] The *jagirdārs* also paid their soldiers in fiefs.[5]

The idea that the *jagir* was a family property of the chief prevailed until the end of the Sūr rule in Northern India. In 1553, Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh held a *darbār* at Gwalior to carry out a scheme of the redistribution of *jagirs*. In the *darbār* he proposed the transfer of Kanauj from the Farmulīs to the Sarbanīs. Sikandar Khān Farmulī protested against the interference of the sulṭān in their *jagir*, which they held from the time of Sher Shāh. This

1 'Abbās, 10, 120a; BM., 79a-b.

2 Ibid. 116b; BM., 77a.

3 Ibid, 100b; BM., 65b.

4 Ibid, 107b; BM., 70a.

5 Ibid, 107b and 114a; BM., 70a and 75a.

affair caused dispute and fighting in the open *darbār* and it resulted in the loss of several lives.[1] This incident illustrates how the Afghān chiefs throughout the entire period of Afghān rule in India tenaciously adhered to the notion that they held their *jagirs* by right and not by royal favour.

The hold of the Afghān chiefs on their tribes and their great power over their *jagirs* naturally limited the authority of the Afghān king in their localities. Indeed, it may be said that the chiefs established semi-independent political units within the kingdom.

The role of the Afghān chiefs in the royal succession :

The Afghān chiefs exercised great influence in the political questions of their sultanate. The significant role they played in the affairs of succession to the throne suggests that the Afghān king was really chosen by them. The reigning king might nominate his successor. He would, however, nominate such a person, who would be acceptable to the chiefs. Even then, the chiefs could accept or reject him and place some other relation of the deceased king on the throne.

Islām Khān Lodī, who for the first time united the Afghāns under his leadership, nominated his nephew Bahlūl Lodī rather than his son Quṭb Khān to be his successor, because he thought that the latter would not be accepted by the Afghān chiefs on acconnt of his mixed blood.[2] This shows that the Afghān leader had respect for the opinion of his brethren. In spite of this, the

[1] *T.*, II, 120-1; *B.*, I, 419-20; *F.*, I, 439; *D.*, BM., 120a.

[2] *F.* I, 317; *Afsān i-Shāhan* 14b.

Afghāns were not unanimous in the acceptance of Bahlūl.[1] By his tact and personality, Bahlūl, however, secured their recognition. Even when he became the acknowledged leader and monarch of the Afghāns, he behaved with them in such a way as to show that he had been a choice of his people and that he held the high office at their pleasure.[2]

The accession of Sikandar Lodī is an instance which illustrates that the Afghān chiefs had their choice in succession. When Bahlūl Lodī died they sat in assembly to decide whom they should place on the throne. At that time the elder prince Bārbik was at Jaunpur and the third Sikandar was in Delhi. A few of the chiefs favoured the succession of Bārbik, while others wanted to place A'ẓam Humāyun, the son of the eldest prince Bāyazīd, who had died, on the throne. Nobody made any mention of Sikandar, who is said to have been nominated successor by Bahlūl.[3] Seeing that her son's case was going by default, Sikandar's mother spoke, from behind the curtain, about the qualities of her son and presented his case to the assembled chiefs. 'Isa Khān Lodī retorted that the throne was not for the son of a goldsmith's daughter.[4] Khān Khānān Farmulī, one of the influential chiefs, objected to such harsh language towards the wife of the late king. This caused a quarrel between the two chiefs. Khān Khānān Farmulī swore that he would support the succession of Sikandar. As he commanded the respect of the majority of the chiefs, they chose Sikandar for the throne and invited him accordingly. Sikandar came in haste to Jalali and ascended the throne.[5]

1 *F.* I, p. 317.
2 See p. 52.
3 *F.*, I, p. 329; *D.*, School, 27a.
4 *Ibid.* Sikandar's mother was a goldsmith's daughter.
5 *F.*, I. p. 329; *T.*, I, p. 314.

In 1517 after the death of Sikandar, the majority of the chiefs favoured the succession of Ibrāhīm Lodī, who was noted for his intelligence, bravery and other praiseworthy qualities.[1] Accordingly, Ibrāhīm succeeded to the throne. A few of the chiefs, however, placed his younger brother Jalāl on the throne at Jaunpur. It was after much fighting that Jalāl was eliminated and Ibrāhīm became undisputed in the sultanate.

In the Sūr period :

In the Sūr Afghān monarchy also the great influence of the Afghān chiefs continued in the affairs of succession. It was by championing the Afghān national cause against the Mughals that Sher Shāh became the leader of the Afghāns.[2] In 1539, he defeated Humāyun at Chausa. This made him supreme in Bengal, Bihar and the territories up to Kanauj and placed him well on the road to his sovereignty in Agra and Delhi. In recognition of the quality of his leadership and his great service to the cause of the Afghāns, 'Isa Khān Sarwānī proposed in an assembly of the Afghān chiefs to make him their king. Miyān Babin Lodī and other chiefs unanimously consented and Sher Shāh accepted the offer saying, "The kingship is an exalted office and is not devoid of trouble; but since the noble minds of my friends have decided to make me king, I agree."[3] This shows that the Afghān chiefs chose Sher Shāh to be their king.

In 1545, the enthronement of Islām Shāh, the second son of Sher Shāh, in preference to his eldest son and nominated successor 'Ādil Khān, is another instance showing the great influence of the Afghān chiefs in the important affair of

[1] *T.*, I, pp. 341-2.
[2] 'Abbās, 10, 52b; BM., 35b.
[3] *Ibid*, 73a-b; BM., 48a.

succession in the Sūr Afghān sultanate.[1] The assassination of Islām Shāh's son and successor Fīrūz on the third day of his accession in 1553 and the raising of Muḥammad 'Ādil on the throne by the chiefs,[2] confirms our belief that the Afghān king was really the choice of the Afghān chiefs.

Later instances also reflect the great position of the Afghān chiefs in the monarchy. Sikandar Khān Sūr, after being elevated to the throne in 1554, addressed the chiefs in the following words: "I regard myself as one of you; I claim no superiority over you. If you think me incapable of rule, let an abler head and a stronger arm be elected from among you that I may also swear allegiance to him."[3] This indicates that, even down to the end of the Sūr rule, the Afghān chiefs controlled the succession to the throne and maintained the principle that the king was just an accredited leader of the equals and he was not their master.

Relations between the king and the chiefs :

The position of the Afghān chiefs as leader of the tribes and as *jagirdār* and their significant role in the important political question, such as succession to the throne, suggest that the Afghān monarchy in India was really an oligarchy of the chiefs presided over by the monarch. The chiefs used to look upon the king as one of their equals and they would accord him the honours of a leader in war rather than of a master in peace. So, Dr. Tripathi remarks that the Afghān

[1] See Chapter IV.
[2] See Chapter V.
[3] *F.*, I, pp. 343-4; *Khāfi Khān*, I, p. 113.
گفت من یکی شمایم و مرا بر شما تفوق نیست و اگر مرا شایسته
این امر جایل القدر نمیدانید از میان خود هرکس را که
لائق این منصب عظیم الشان دانید بر تخت نشانند

monarchy was a sort of confederation of the tribes presided over by the king.[1] Even in the eighteenth century, the state of Rohilkhand established by 'Ālī Muḥammad Khān Rohīlā was based on *jagirs* and was really a confederacy of the Aghān chiefs with the Nawāb as their leader.[2] A study of the relations between Bahlūl Lodī and the chiefs will show that the founder of the first Afghān monarchy in India gave the chiefs equal status with the king.

At the time of the establishment of the Afghān kingdom in Northern India, Bahlūl Lodī promised to share the conquered territories among the chiefs as brothers.[3] The lavish grant of *jagirs* to the chiefs show that he kept his promise. He even divided the royal treasure among them.[4] Bahlūl Lodī also behaved himself with the chiefs as friends and never gave an air of superiority over them. Either in public or private audiences he did not sit on a throne and sat on a carpet along with the chiefs. He addressed them as *Masnad-i-'Alī*, i.e., Your Excellencies, and never issued to them a *farmān* savouring of command. If any one of them was displeased with him, he would go to his house and, placing his sword and turban before him, he would say, "If you think me unworthy of the office, choose someone else and give me some other office."[5] Bahlūl Lodī would eat in their company and would not ride a horse better than those of the chiefs. He never made a parade of his royalty.[6] Such was

1 Tripathi—*Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, 83.
2 Rahman—*The Rise and Fall of Ruhila Power*, p. 13.
3 'Abbās, 10, 3a-b; BM., 3b. Bābur (*Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburi*, 389) says that six or seven chiefs including Tātār khān Lodī occupied Hindustan and made Bahlūl their king. Tātār khān obtained the territories of the Panjab.
4 *F.*, I, p. 328.
5 *D.*, BM., 8b; School, 10; *W. M.*, p. 76; *F.*, I, p. 328.
6 *F.*, I, p. 328.
اگر لائق نمیدانید این کار دیگر اختیار بکند و ما را کاری دیگر فرمایند

the founder of the Afghān monarchy in India and his relationship with the chiefs. In fact, Bahlūl Lodī, being the first, became the traditional model of a sulṭān to the Afghāns in India.

We wonder why Bahlūl Lodī established such a monarchy in which the position of the chiefs was enhanced beyond measure and the dignity of the king was greatly lowered. Indeed he had difficulties in establishing an absolutism of the monarch. The self-willed Afghān chiefs, who valued their tribal independence more than anything else, would not have favoured an institution, which would have reduced them to the position of servants of the king. Secondly, the Afghān kingdom established with the help of the Afghān chiefs depended on their cooperation with the king. Bahlūl's kingdom was essentially an Afghān kingdom in which the non-Afghān section of the people had neither any concern nor any interest. In view of this fact, Bahlūl Lodī had to fashion his monarchy in such a way that it might insure him the whole-hearted support of the chiefs at all times. Besides, as the Afghāns in India numbered only a few lacs,[1] he could not have afforded to create divisions among them by forcing on them the institution of absolute monarchy. Lastly, Bahlūl Lodī himself was an Afghān born and bred and would not be expected to revolt against his own instinct and upbringing.

It cannot, however, be denied that, in his desire to please the Afghān chiefs, Bahlūl Lodī lowered the position of the king more than was necessary. He could have kept on good terms with them without raising them up as equals. By such conduct as sitting on a carpet with them, addressing them as *Masnad-i-'Alī* and asking their forgiveness by putting off the *turban*, Bahlūl Lodī unnecessarily humiliated the monarchy.

1 According to *Afsān-i-Shāhān* (150b), in the reign of Islām Shāh Sūr, the Afghāns in India numbered only nine lacs.

As the first Afg͟hān king, he could have given kingship more dignity and have handed on a better tradition for his successors. His actions towards the chiefs reveal him as an average tribal chief, devoid of any political knowledge and ideas. His conduct created a dangerous precedent for his successors.

Sikandar Lodī (1489—1517) perceived that the great power of the chiefs was an obstacle in the way of an efficient administration and the stability of the kingdom. So, he wanted to check their power and improve the position of the king. He, however, proceeded very cautiously. Sikandar Lodī would not sit on the throne in the presence of the great chiefs.[1] He would also alight from his horse to receive them.[2] At the same time, he took steps to introduce a mild control over them. He provided for inspecting and auditing the revenue accounts of the chiefs.[3] But he did not push this too far. 'Abd Allāh says that Sulṭān Sikandar allowed them to settle their accounts with the finance department in a manner most convenient to themselves.[4] Still they clamoured against this interference of the king in their affairs. Sikandar's tact and ability, however, quieted their opposition.

The conflict of ideas that originated at the time of Sikandar Lodī came to a head in the reign of his son and successor, Ibrāhīm Lodī (1517-26). In his reign, the great power of the Afg͟hān chiefs became a positive danger to the Afg͟hān monarchy. They challenged his authority, by installing his younger brother Jalāl as a rival king in Jaunpur. They even ignored his orders. Ibrāhīm appointed Miyān Mak͟han to the chief command in place of Miyān Ḥusain Farmulī in the campaign

[1] *F.*, I, p. 329.

بطریق پدر با افغانان سلوک هموار و برادرانه پیش گرفت
و در حضور اکابر قوم بر تخت نشست

[2] *Ibid*, p. 331.
[3] *Ibid*, 334-5; Briggs—*Firishta*, I, p. 574.
[4] *D.*, BM., 24a.

against Rana Sanga of Mewar. Miyān Ḥusain, however, could not tolerate it. He joined the Rana and helped him in defeating the forces of Miyān Makhan.[1]

Ibrāhīm Lodī felt that the kingdom could neither be made stable nor be efficiently governed, if the Afghān chiefs were allowed to have unchecked power. He also came to the throne with his own ideas of raising the power and dignity of the king and of placing him as an impartial head of the kingdom. Hence after his accession he proclaimed that the king had no friend or relations and that all were the servants of the royalty. Firishta has introduced the above statement to show the arrogance of Ibrāhīm Lodī, who departed from the manners and practices of his father and grandfather.[2] We, however, find in it the spirit of a dutiful king, who wanted to be the king of all the people of the kingdom, irrespective of race, and desired to give them the benefits of an orderly and efficient government.

The ideas of Ibrāhīm Lodī naturally brought him into conflict with the ideas of the chiefs, who would not readily consent to part with their power and privileges. His ideas made him their bitter enemies. Ibrāhīm Lodī, however, was not daunted; he proceeded boldly to crush the opposition. He nearly succeeded. The defeated and humiliated chiefs, on the other hand, in their rage, forgot their common interests as Afghāns and, by inviting Bābur to India, they caused the destruction of the Afghān monarchy at the Battle of Panipat in 1526, and thus had terrible revenge on their ruler, who trampled on their traditional ideas.

Ibrāhīm Lodī was, no doubt, intelligent and able and was inspired by a sound principle of introducing an efficient administration in the kingdom. There were, however, defects

[1] *D.*, BM., 56a; *Shāhi*, 78-9.
[2] *F.*, I, p. 347.

in his method of attaining that object. He was uncompromising in principle and hasty in action. He did not allow for the prejudices of the Afghān chiefs. The chiefs were also uncompromising in their ideas. So, the inevitable result of the conflict of two uncompromising ideas was to confound them both.

In Sher Shāh's reign :

In Sher Shāh Sūr's Afghān sultanate also, we see that the tribal associations of the Afghāns, their ideas regarding the *jagirs* and the great position of the chiefs as *jagirdārs* and courtiers continued to exist.[1] Being favoured by circumtances, Sher Shāh, however, established a comparatively strong monarchy to that of Bahlūl Lodī.

Sher Shāh's was a restored Afghān sultanate. After fifteen years of misfortune, his leadership restored the sovereignty of Northern India to the Afghāns. Naturally they looked upon him as their great saviour and reposed great confidence in his intelligence and wisdom.[2] His love and care for them endeared him all the more to them. Badāunī says that Sher Shāh would not give the head of a soldier even for a kingdom.[3] So when in the battle of Jodhpur a few Afghān soldiers were killed Sher Shāh said, "I have sold the empire of the whole of Hindustan for a handful of *bājra* (a kind of grain)."[4] 'Abbās writes that Sher Shāh gave the Afghāns *jagirs* or stipends on such a scale that everyone of them whether in India or Roh became a man of substance.[5]

Moreover, the brilliant victories and conquests of Sher

1 See pp. 45-7.

2 'Abbās, 10, 72b; BM., 48a.

3 *B.*, I, 368.

4 'Abbās, 10, 100a; *M.*, 140b.

5 *Ibid*, 113b; *M.*, 74b.

Shāh held the Afghāns spell-bound and they brought fresh fortune to them. The conquests also diverted their attention from the internal affairs to the theatres of war and the wealth of new territories. Being thus diverted, the Afghāns did not realise how much power was being quietly engrossed by the monarchy.

Favourable circumstances as well as his prudence and sagacity enabled Sher Shāh in establishing a stronger monarchy than that of Bahlūl Lodī. This is seen in some of his measures. A few of his coins mention him as *Khalīfat-al-Zamān*,[1] i.e., the caliph of the age, showing that Sher Shāh did not own even theoretical allegiance to the caliph of Islām. In view of the fall of the caliphate in 1517 at the hands of the Ottoman Sulṭān Salīm, the institution of caliphate had lost its significance. So, the assumption of the title of caliph by Sher Shāh did not mean much from the point of view of the relationship of a Muslim king with the caliphate. It, however, contained some implications regarding his relations with his people. The assumption of the title of Khalīfat-al-Zamān meant that Sher Shāh wanted to be more than an Afghān king in the tradition of Bahlūl Lodī.

We notice in Sher Shāh's administrative policy and system, in *sarkār* and *pargana* administration, in revenue reforms and army regulations and other institutions his desire to set up a centralised administration under the direct control of the king.[2] Sher Shāh, however, acted very cautiously and made concessions where necessary. He granted *jagirs* to the chiefs and allowed them to maintain forces. He left A'ẓām Humāyun Niyāzī in the Panjab and Multan, though he would

[1] Wright—*The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, II, 109. Coins AE. 1257-1281.

[2] Sher Shah's administration will be discussed with the administration of Islām Shāh.

have liked to remove him from such a big area.[1] Sher Shāh also exempted Isma'il Khān from the branding system as the latter did not like that his horses should be branded.[2]

This shows that Sher Shāh did not push far his idea of centralisation and he made allowance for the sentiments and prejudices of the Afghān chiefs. So, there was no occasion for his conflict with them. His son and successor Islām Shāh, however, carried his ideas of centralisation too far and hence his reign witnessed a bitter conflict of the two opposing forces.

[1] See p. 46.

[2] 'Abbās, 10, 84b; BM., 55b.

CHAPTER IV

ISLĀM SHĀH SŪR AND HIS MONARCHY
952 H./1545 A.D.—960 H./1553 A. D.

THE reign of Islām Shāh Sūr is a remarkably momentous period of Afghān rule in India. It saw an astounding victory of the monarch over the chiefs and the realisation of the ideas of Ibrāhīm Lodī as well as the perfection of the principles and the institutions of Sher Shāh. It inaugurated in the Afghān sultanate a monarchy that was reminiscent of the absolutism of the great Turkish sultāns, 'Alā al-Dīn Khaljī and Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, and the precursor of the splendid royalty and an efficient administrative system of the illustrious Mughal Emperor Akbar. Indeed, in the history of ideas and institutions of Muslim rule, Islām Shāh, the successor of the Afghān king Sher Shāh, stands as a connecting link between the Turks and the Mughals in India.

Accession and fratricidal war:

On May 23, 1545, Sher Shāh died in the camp at Kalinjar, leaving behind him two sons and both of them were absent. The elder 'Ādil Khān was at Ranthambhor and the younger Jalāl Khān was at Rewa, 200 miles and 50 miles away, respectively, from Kalinjar. Succession to the throne was imperative. Before his death, Sher Shāh had nominated 'Ādil Khān as his successor.[1] The Afghān chiefs, however, attached little importance to their great leader's will and wanted to make their own choice.

'Isa Khān Ḥujjāb, Jamāl Khān, Shaikh Muḥammad Gukbar and other chiefs present sat in council to decide

[1] *T.*, II, p. 107; *F.*, I, p. 430; *M.*, 137b; *D.*, BM., 102b.

who should succeed. Ni'mat Allāh gives a detailed account of their discussions. The accounts of Nizām al-Dīn, Badāunī, Firishta and 'Abd Allāh substantially agree with that of Ni'mat Allāh.[1] 'Isa Khān Ḥujjāb, who held the important post of *Tambūldār* of Sher Shāh and was in great confidence of that monarch[2] championed the cause of Jalāl. At first he made the other chiefs agree that they should not take away the throne from the family of Sher Shāh. Then this shrewd partisan of Jalāl made a comparative estimate of the two princes, showing the incompetence of the elder and the competence of the younger as an administrator as well as soldier.

According to 'Isa Khān, Sher Shāh often lamented that none of his sons was fit for the throne ; the elder was given to luxury and amusements and the younger was impetuous and vindictive. He, however, appreciated the warlike qualities of Jalāl. This judgment of Sher Shāh, quoted by one of his chief supporters, could not fail to weaken the cause of 'Ādil.

Secondly, 'Isa Khān pointed to the respective careers of the two princes in the reign of their father. 'Ādil had no distinguished service to his credit. Being ease-loving and lazy, he would prove himself a failure as a ruler. Jalāl had distinguished himself as a soldier and he had excellently managed every business entrusted to him by the late king.[3]

1 *M.*, 137b-8b; *T.*, II, p. 107; *F.*, 430; *D.*, BM., 102b.

2 Ni'mat Allāh (140b) says that the office of the *Tambūldār* or the betel-leaf bearer was the highest in the Afghān sultanate.

3 Jalāl distinguished himself in his father's conquest of Bengal. ('Abbās, BM., 38b; *E.*, IV, 359-60). He also successfully checked the advance of Humāyun at Garhi and captured some camels and horses of the Mughāls in an engagement. This enabled Sher Shāh to remove the treasures of Gaur to Rohtas. ('Abbās, BM., 42b; 10, 64a-b). Jalāl also commanded the Afghān right in the battle of Kanauj in 1540 A.D. ('Abbās, 10, 76b; BM., 50b). Ni'mat Allāh (140a) says that the early name of Jalāl was 'Abd al-Rashīd. His services and exploits under his father earned him the name of Jalīl.

By this illustration, 'Isa Khān wanted to convince that Jalāl would be a better choice for the throne. Thirdly, he emphasized that the vacant throne should immediately be filled, so that the peace and integrity of the empire could be maintained. 'Ādil was far off, Jalāl near. Fourthly, 'Isa Khān produced a precedent to show that only those present could qualify for the throne. After the death of Bahlūl Lodī, his son Sikandar was chosen for the throne by the chiefs in preference to his elder brother Bārbik, because he was near at hand. Lastly, he made the assembled chiefs understand that Jalāl, a man of passionate temper, would never be reconciled to the succession of his brother and that, if 'Ādil was given the throne, serious troubles might follow. So the peace and welfare of the empire demanded that Jalāl should be placed on the throne.[1]

These eloquent arguments decided the Afghān chiefs in favour of Jalāl. Ni'mat Allāh mentions that they gave a letter to Maḥmūd to carry to his father 'Ādil, informing him of the death of Sher Shāh and asking him to come to Kalinjar. The letter was, however, a contrivance of the chiefs to remove the son of 'Ādil from the camp. They sent another letter by courier to Jalāl informing him of the death of his father and of their decision to place him on the throne.[2] Jalāl hastened to Kalinjar and, although he was secretly glad at the offer of the throne, he insincerely hesitated, saying that his father had nominated his elder brother. 'Isa Khān and other chiefs, however, emphasized that they had unanimously decided for his succession and that the interest of the empire demanded his acceptance. Being thus re-assured, Jalāl accepted the offer and, on May 28, 1545 (15 *Rabī'* I, 952), assuming the name of Islām Shāh, he

1 *M.*, 138b; Dorn, 143-4.
2 *Ibid*, 138b-9a; Dorn, 144; *F.*, I, 430; *D.*, BM., 102b.

ascended the throne of the sulṭanate in the fort of Kalinjar.[1]

After his accession Islām Shāh wanted to secure his position against his elder brother by creating a group of strong supporters of his throne. He rewarded 'Isa Khān Ḥujjāb with the important and confidential office of *Tambūldār* and raised his brother and son to higher posts in the sultanate.[2] Islām Shāh promoted 6,000 soldiers, who followed him when he was a prince, making privates officers and officers nobles.[3] He also satisfied the army by a grant of one month's pay as present and one month's pay in advance.[4]

The installation of Islām Shāh on the throne bewildered Khwās Khān, 'Isa Khān Niyāzī and other supporters of 'Ādil who had been away at the time. Considering that his accession had become a *fait accompli* and that he had strengthened his position, they, however, thought it wise to accept him as their king. Khwās Khān came from Mewat and met Islām Shāh at Kara on his way to Agra. When Islām Shāh received the allegiance of Khwās Khān, he exclaimed that he had become king from the time Khwās Khān had joined him.[5] In fact, the adhesion of Khwās Khān, the most distinguished general of Sher Shāh and previously a strong supporter of 'Ādil, secured the position of Islām Shāh on the throne.

Even after Khwās Khān had accepted him as king, Islām

[1] M, 140a; Dorn, 145; *F.*, I, 430; *B.*, I, p. 375; *T.*, II, p. 107.
Most of the contemporary histories mention Islām Shāh as Salīm Shāh or Islam Shāh. His coins (Wright—*The Coins and the Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 326-7), however, bear the title of Jalāl al-Duniā wa dīn Abul Muzaffar Islām Shāh.

[2] *M.*, 140b; Dorn, 146.

[3] *D.*, BM., 103b.

[4] *Ibid*, 102b-3a; *W. M.*, 57a.

[5] *T.*, II, 107; *B.*, I, 357; *M.*, 141b.

Shāh felt himself insecure on the throne, thinking that his brother might at any time create troubles for him. So, he resolved to get rid of him. He wanted to attain his object by means of dissimulation. After his accession, he feigned loyalty to his brother and wrote to him from Kalinjar that he had accepted the responsibility of government and military command so that troubles might not arise. He invited his brother to come and assume the reins of government. On his arrival at Agra, Islām Shāh sent him another letter assuring him of safety. 'Ādil, however, referred the question of his brother's invitation to Khwās Khān, 'Isa Khān Niyāzii, Quṭb Khān Nāib and Jalāl Khān Jallū. Islām Shāh sent these four chiefs to re-assure him of safety by a solemn compact. Acting on their advice, 'Ādil came from Ranthambhor to Sikri. To receive his brother, Islām Shāh left Agra and the two brothers met at Shingarpur.[1]

Islām Shāh received 'Ādil with every mark of cordiality. The two brothers mourned their father's death together and then they set out for Agra. But while outwardly pretending cordiality, Islām Shāh planned to kill his brother. He had given secret orders to his followers not to allow more than two or three of his brother's attendants to enter the fort.[2] 'Ādil's men, five to six thousand in number, however, forced their way in. Finding that his plan had failed, Islām Shāh treated his brother with outward deference. He said to him that he had so long taken care of the leaderless Afghāns and now he made them over to him. He placed his brother on the throne and showed himself submissive to him.[3] Even in these proceedings Islām Shāh planned the death of 'Ādil. He had previously placed some

[1] *B.*, I, p. 375; *T.*, II, p. 107; *D.*, BM., 104a; *Shāhi*, 297.
[2] *Ibid*, 375-6; 108; *D.*, School, 135; *Shāhī*, 297; *F.*, I, p. 430.
[3] *B.*, I, pp. 375-6; *T.*, II, p. 108: *F.*, I, p. 430; *D.*, School, 135; *Shāhi* 297.

brave and trustworthy young men behind the throne, so that they might in an opportune moment kill him.[1] 'Ādil, however, feeling that his brother was not sincere in the profession of loyalty to him, rose from the throne and placing Jalāl on it, saluted him and swore allegiance to him. Islām Shāh gave Biyana in *jagir* to him. Leaving his son Maḥmūd at court, 'Ādil accompanied Khwās Khān and 'Isa Khān Niyāzī to his *jagir*.[2]

After 'Ādil had recognised him king, Islām Shāh had apparently no cause for fear on his brother's account. He, however, could not feel himself secure on the throne so long his brother lived.[3] Ni'mat Allāh says that Islām Shāh feared that 'Ādil would never fail to seize an opportunity to make a bid for the throne and, in view of the unruly character and rebellious spirit of the Afghāns, there would be ample occasion for such an opportunity. He thought that, while his brother lived, he would not be able to set his hand to any important affair of the sultanate. Islām Shāh intended to introduce such administrative measures, which would go against the interests of the Afghān chiefs. In such a case, "Ādil might rally them against his throne. Besides, the frontier problems, particularly the defence of the north-west of the sultanate against Humāyun, would call forth his vigilance. While he would be thus engaged, his brother might create serious trouble for him. The affair of Humāyun and Kāmrān was a warning. Kāmrān had caused the defeat and expulsion of his brother from India by fostering revolt. 'Ādil must therefore be removed.[4]

'Ādil and his supporters had sworn allegiance to Islām

[1] *M.*, 145a; Dorn, 151.
[2] *B.*, I, pp. 375-6; *T.*, II, p. 108: *F.*, I, p. 430; *D.*, School, 135; *Shāhi* 297.
[3] *M.*, 145b; Dorn, 152.
[4] *Ibid.*

Shāh and had given him no cause to suspect their loyalty. But, it cannot be said that 'Ādil, who was the elder and was nominated successor by his father and had the support of some great chiefs, would reconcile himself to the rule of his younger brother and would never make an attempt to assert his rights in an opportune moment. The previous history of the Afg͟hāns produced instances of this nature. Bārbik gave enormous trouble to Sikandar Lodī, although the latter was the nominated successor of his father and was chosen for the throne by the Afg͟hān chiefs. So, we cannot brush aside the putative political necessity, which impelled Islām Shāh to remove his brother from his side. He saw the possible danger from his brother and thought it prudent to eliminate it, before it was ripe.

Morally, Islām Shāh's conduct towards his elder brother is indefensible. It revealed him as an unscrupulous man, who felt no qualm of conscience at breaking a solemn compact in order to achieve his ends. It also frightened the Afg͟hān chiefs and, in its immediate effect, convulsed the sultanate in a fratricidal war.

Only two months after the compact, Islām Shāh sent one of his confidential agents, G͟hāzī K͟hān Maḥallī, to bring his brother in chains to Agra. Being frightened, 'Ādil fled to the protection of K͟hwās K͟hān in Mewat. K͟hwās K͟hān was enraged at the breach of the agreement. He arrested G͟hāzī K͟hān and persuaded 'Isa K͟hān Niyāzī, Quṭb K͟hān, Jalāl K͟han Jallū and other chiefs to rise against Islām Shāh. They all assured him of fighting in favour of 'Ādil. Quṭb K͟hān Nāib wrote to him urging him to advance with 'Ādil and their forces and to arrive near Agra a little before day-break so that, without shame or loss of reputation, he and

other chiefs might desert Islām Shāh and join them.[1]

With a large army, 'Ādil, Khwās Khān and 'Isa Khān Niyāzī marched towards Agra. But, as in the night of *Shab-i-Barāt* Khwās Khān said his prayers in the company of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī at Sikri, they reached the outskirts of Agra at breakfast time. So, Quṭb Khān and his associates could not desert Islām Shāh.[2] Still, Par Khān Lohānī, 'Ālam Khān Miyāna, Barmazid Gur and a few others went over to the side of 'Ādil.[3]

Apprehending desertion by his forces on the battlefield, Islām Shāh was very much perturbed. 'Isa Khān Ḥujjāb, however, infused confidence in him, saying that his devoted band of followers, the Farmulīs and the Niyāzīs would remain loyal to him and that, in his face, no Afghān would desert him on the battlefield.[4] Thus encouraged, Islām Shāh prepared for battle. On October 23, 1545 (*Sha'bān* 15, 952), a hotly contested battle took place near Agra. 'Ādil's forces were defeated and routed. 'Ādil fled to Patna and no reference of him is found afterwards.

Khwās Khān and 'Isa Khān Niyāzī fled towards Mewat. Islām Shāh's forces defeated them again at Firuzpur and drove them to the shelter of the Raja of the Kumaun hills. Islām Shāh appointed Quṭb Khān Nāib to fight them. Posting himself in the outskirts of the Kumaun hills, Quṭb Khān constantly raided, plundered and devastated the

[1] *T.*, II, pp. 108-9; *B.*, I, pp. 376-7; *D.*, BM., 104b; *M.*, 145b.

The Aghfāns consider desertion at night as preferable. In 1525 when 'Ālam Khān Lodī came to fight his nephew, Ibrāhīm Lodī, the Afghān chiefs assured him of deserting the king, if he approached Delhi before daybreak. *T.*, II, p. 5.

[2] *T.*, II, p. 109; *B.*, I, pp. 376-7; *D.*, BM., 105a.

[3] *M.*, 150b.

[4] *F.*, I, p. 431; *T.*, II, p. 110; *M.*, 148b.

country.[1]

Elimination of the Afghān chiefs :

The victory over his brother made Islām Shāh an uncontested ruler. Next, he devoted himself to the overthrow of the powerful Afghān chiefs. 'Abd 'Allāh says that Islām Shāh became suspicious of his father's chiefs and took measures to remove them.[2] Badāunī also writes that Islām Shāh set himself to exterminate the adherents of 'Ādil and he swept them one by one from the board of the world like so many chess pieces.[3]

The contemporary evidences show that Islām Shāh followed a policy of ruthlessly suppressing the Afghān chiefs. It might be asked, what were the reasons which accounted for his severity towards them. It was not merely because a few of them were favourably disposed to 'Ādil that Islām Shāh suspected them and eliminated them. In the battle with his brother, some of the chiefs deserted him and a few of them, though they did not desert, were guilty of conspiring against him. Hence, it was not unnatural for him to suspect them. Moreover, Islām Shāh, who cherished the idea of establishing a strong centralised monarchy in the sultanate and of raising the dignity of the king, found a serious obstacle in the great chiefs of his father's time. So, his method of dealing with the opposition was elimination.

Islām Shāh's first victim was Jalāl Khān Jallū, one of the chief conspirators and supporters of 'Ādil, and his brother Khudādād. By inviting them one day to his camp at Kara Khatampur, he arrested them and made them over to an

1 *T.*, II, p. 110; *B.*, I, p. 378; *D.*, BM., 105b; *Shāhi*, 240-41.
2 *D.*, BM., 105b.
3 *B.*, I, p. 378.

Afghān, who had bloodfeud with them and eventually killed them.[1] The fate of Jalāl Khān frightened Quṭb Khān, another chief conspirator, and he fled to the protection of Ā'ẓam Humāyun Haibat Khān in the Panjab. The Niyāzī chief, however, delivered him in chains to Islām Shāh. Islām Shāh imprisoned him with 14 others, including Shāhbāz Khān Lohānī, 'Ādil's son Maḥmūd, Shams Khān Niyāzī, Zain Khān Niyāzī and Barmazid Gur in a cell at Gwalior.[2] According to contemporary evidence, the Gwalior prisoners were afterwards burnt to death with gunpowder. As Kamāl Khān covered himself with some wet quilts supplied by his wife, he only escaped death.[3]

Islām Shāh thought of removing Shujā'at Khān Sūr and Ā'ẓam Humāyun Niyāzī, the powerful chiefs who governed Malwa and the Panjab respectively. He summoned them to Gwalior. The former came, but the latter made excuses. As Islām Shāh wanted to seize them simultaneously, he allowed Shujā'at Khān to return to Malwa.[4] He then marched to punish Ā'ẓam Humāyun and when he reached Agra Shujā'at Khān again came and paid his respects to him.[5] Concealing his real intentions, Islām Shāh treated him with favour and allowed him to go back to his *jagir*.

Again in 1547 (954 H.), Shujā'at Khān came to visit the king at Gwalior. Partly because of his submission and partly because of his favourite companion Daulat Khān Ujiyālā, the adopted son of Shujā'at Khān, Islām Shāh could not openly destroy him. He, however, instigated an Afghān named 'Uthmān, whose hands had been cut off by Shujā'at

T., II, p. 111; *B.*, I, p. 378; *M.*, 155b-6a.

2 *Ibid*, pp. 378-9; *M.*, 156a; *D.*, BM., 105b-6a; *Shāhi*, 241-2.

3 *D.*, BM., 114b; *B.*, I, p. 379.

4 *Ibid*, 106b.

5 *Ibid.*, *B.*, I, pp. 379-80; *T.* pp. II, p. III.

Khān for his misdemeanour, to take revenge. One day 'Uṭh-mān made an attempt on him and wounded him. Suspecting Islām Shāh, Shujā fled to Malwa and, as Islām Shāh pursued him, he took shelter in Banswara. Islām Shāh posted 'Isa Khān Sūr with a large force at Ujjain and then returned.[1] Later on Daulat Khān's intercession obtained pardon for Shujā'at Khān and he received the charge of Sarangpur and Raisin.[2] Thus Islām Shāh broke his power, though he did not eliminate him.

Islām Shāh could not tolerate the powerful Niyāzī chief, A'ẕam Humāyun, in the possession of the Panjab and Multan, a fairly big area and an important part of his sultan-ate. Sher Shāh had also wanted to remove him; but he was cautious in giving effect to his idea and he died before he could set his hands to it.[3] Islām Shāh, however, was bold in the execution of his ideas. So, when he felt that the Niy-āzīs stood as a great obstacle on the way of his administrative ideal he proceeded boldly to remove them. A'ẕam Humāyun had disobeyed his summons. His brother Sa'id Khān Niyāzī also fled from his court. If Badāunī is to be believed, then it can be said that the Niyāzīs even defied the authority of Islām Shāh in the Panjab by reading the *Khuṭba* in A'ẕam Humāyun's name.[4] All these furnished Islām Shāh with a good *cassus belli* for a strong measure against them.

In 1546 Islām Shāh marched against the Niyāzīs. A'ẕam Humāyun made an alliance with Khwās Khān and 'Isa Khān Niyāzī and their combined forces faced Islām Shāh

1 *I i*, 110a; 383-4; 113; *W.M.*, 75 . Ni'mat Allāh (Ab, 158) says 'Isa Khan Ojja.

2 *A.N.*; II, p. 89 and III, p. 420; *D.*, BM., 110a; *M.*, 167a.

3 Idem, pp. 51-52.

4 *B.* I, p. 379-80; *Shāhi*, 242.

near the town of Ambala. On the night preceding the battle, the alliance, however, broke down on the question of succession to the throne. Devoted to the family of Sher Shāh, Khwās Khān wanted the sultanate for 'Ādil; but the Niyāzīs declared that they were fighting to have the throne for themselves.[1] Khwās Khān thought of desertion. The Afghān historians write that he secretly informed Islām Shāh that, though he had joined the Niyāzīs, he would not fight against the family of his great benefactor Sher Shāh.[2] However, in December, 1546, Islām Shāh engaged the rebels near Ambala. At the time of the battle, Khwās and Khān 'Isa Khān Niyāzī left the field. The Niyāzīs, however, fought courageously, but they were defeated and routed.[3]

Islām Shāh pursued the Niyāzīs as far as the fort of Rohtas and they fled to Dinkot near Roh. His general Rai Ḥusain Jilwānī defeated Khwās Khān and 'Isa Khān Niyāzī and they took shelter in the Kumaun hills. Leaving Shams Khān Lohānī as governor of Lahore and Khwāja Wais Sarwānī in charge of Rohtas and in fighting against the Niyāzīs, Islām Shāh returned to his capital Gwalior.[4] In an engagement, the Niyāzīs, however, defeated Wais Sarwānī and advanced to Sirhind. On the approach of a larger army, they retreated and, in 1548, they were again defeated in Mauja Sambla near Mankot. Leaving a number of women and children captive, the Niyāzīs fled to the Gakkar country near Kashmir.[5]

[1] *B.*, I, pp. 380-1; *T.*, II, p. 111; *Shāhi*, 243-4.
[2] *D.*, BM., 107a; *Shāhi*, 243-4.
[3] *B.*, I, pp. 381-2; *T.*, 11, p. 112; *Shāhi*, 243-4.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 382; T. II, p. 113; *D.*, BM., 11ob; *F.* , I, p. 434. Dinkot is in N.W.F. Province.
[5] *Ibid*, 385-6, T. II, p. 113, *D.*, 110 b; *F*, I, p .434

Badāunī and Ni'mat Allāh say that, once a week for two years, Islām Shāh exposed the Niyāzī females in the Common Hall of Audience and the heralds and the chamberlains proclaimed aloud the names of the Niyāzī chiefs as rebels.[1] This shows the vindictiveness and ruthlessness of Islām Shāh in dealing with the opposition. Badāunī informs that this conduct of Islām Shāh annoyed many Afghāns.[2] But he cared very little for their sentiments. He wanted them to learn that a similar fate would befall other rebels.

The Niyāzīs, however, in alliance with the Gakkars, whose chief Sulṭān Adam Gakkar was friendly to Humāyun, created such serious trouble in the borders of the Panjab that, in 1549, Islām Shāh had to advance in person to deal with them and he succeeded in driving them from their territories and obtaining the submission of the *zamindārs* of the Siwalik hills.[3] About this time Islām Shāh constructed five forts in Mankot as a great defensive measure against the Gakkars and Humāyun.[4]

The Niyāzīs had a tragic end. Being pursued, they entered the hills of Kashmir and sought the protection of its king Mīrzā Ḥaidar. 'Abd Allāh writes that some Kashmīri chiefs wanted to utilise them in expelling their king and failing to enlist their help in their design, they informed him that the Niyāzīs intended on the occupation of Kashmir. Being enraged, Mīrzā Ḥaidar ordered his forces to attack them. The Niyāzīs and their women, however, fought bravely and died. Mīrzā Ḥaidar sent the heads of A'ẕam Humāyun and other Niyāzī chiefs to Islām Shāh at Ban.[5] The Mughal historians

[1] *B.*, I. p. 386; *M.*, 158a.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *W. M.*, 75b; *B.*, I, pp. 386-7; *D.*, BM., 110a-11a.
[4] See p. 74.
[5] *D.*, BM., 112b-3a.

say that, being friendly to Islām Shāh, Mīrzā Ḥaidar treacherously attacked the Niyāzīs and killed them.[1] It might be that Mirzā Ḥaidar, who was previously a noble of Humāyūn and had left him in 1540 in his bad days after the battle of Kanauj, feared Humāyun's invasion of Kashmir and hence wanted to be on friendly terms with his enemy. It was, however, a great gain to Islām Shāh. The turbulent Niyāzī tribe was destroyed and he was saved from the trouble of an ambitious people in the frontiers of his empire.

Relations with Kāmrān and frontier policy :

When in 1551, Islām Shāh was fighting against the Niyāzīs, Mīrzā Kāmrān, being dispossessed of Kabul by his brother Humāyun, came to seek his help. Islām Shāh sent his confidential agent Hemu to escort him to his court at Mankot. The contemporary historians state that Islām Shāh treated Kāmrān very discourteously. According to Badāunī Islām Shāh gave orders to his Master of the Ceremonies, Sarmast Khān, to direct Kāmrān to perform salutations like an ordinary servant. As Kāmrān made an ordinary salutation by slightly bending down his head (*kūrnīsh*), Sarmast Khān seized him by the neck and made him bow down. Besides, Islām Shāh ignored Kāmrān and placed him under surveillance in the camp. Kāmrān, however, managed to escape and he then took shelter with the Gakkar chief Sulṭān Adam.[2]

'Abd Allāh says that, though Islām Shāh did not want to help Kāmrān, yet he treated him with honour; but the latter fled from the court.[3] This evidence seems unacceptable. If Islām Shāh behaved courteously towards Kāmrān, then

[1] *T.*, II, p. 113; *B.*, I, p. 388.
[2] *B.*, I, pp. 389-90; *T.* II, pp. 79 and 114 ; *A.N.*, I. p. 325; *M.*, 159a.
[3] *D.*, BM., 113a-b.

why should he flee from his court and take shelter with the Gakkar chief whom he knew to be friendly with Humāyun ?

It might be argued that Islām Shāh blundered in not helping Kāmrān against his brother. By utilizing Kāmrān he could have dispossessed Humāyun of Kabul and averted the catastrophe, which befell his dynasty after his death. Islām Shāh ought to have realized that Humāyun would never be reconciled to the loss of his empire and would sooner or later make an attempt for the recovery of his throne. There was little possibility of his attempting a restoration during the time of Sher Shāh when Humāyun was a wanderer and a refugee in Persia. The possibility of such an attempt appeared from the moment Humāyun obtained a foothold in Kabul, which gave the exiled Mughal king a recruiting ground and a rallying centre. By helping Kāmrān Islām Shāh could have destroyed this foothold of Humāyun. He could either occupy Kabul or place Kāmrān there as his protegé. This would have removed a great danger to Afghān rule in India.

It was, however, difficult for Islām Shāh to prosecute a warlike policy against Humāyun. Such a policy might have drawn against him the Shāh of Persia, as the latter had been friendly to Humāyun and had helped him in conquering Kabul from Kāmrān. Besides, in view of the internal troubles in the empire, Islām Shāh could not have taken the risk of a distant expedition. Moreover, the Gakkars, whose territory he had recently devastated being friendly to Humāyun, would certainly avail the opportunity of creating troubles for him, in the event of a war against the Mughals in Kabul. So, the expedition might have ended in disaster.

Considering the relations of Kāmrān with his brother, Islām Shāh could not also have relied on him. Kāmrān's

rebellions against Humāyun, in spite of his favours, his desertion of his brother on the eve of the battle of Kanauj and his subsequent hostility towards him revealed him as an untrustworthy man. treacherous and ambitious.[1]

Islām Shāh thought that, by following a vigorous defensive policy in the north-west frontier area, he would be in a better position to ward off the possibility of Humāyun's invasion. So, he completed the building of the fort of Rohtas,[2] which was begun by his father. He also built in Mankot five strong fortresses, which were named *Shergarh*, *Islāmgarh*, *Fīrūzgarh*, *Rashīdgarh* and *Mangarh*.[3] Rizq Allāh and 'Abd Allāh say that the building of those forts astonished those who saw them. They compared Islām Shāh's performances with the work done by genii by the order of the Prophet Solomon.[4]

Islām Shāh garrisoned the frontier forts. He also built opposite Humāyun's *Dīn Panāh* and on the bank of the Jumna a strong fort known as *Islamgarh*.[5] As a part of his defensive measures, Islām Shāh posted 20,000 cavalry in the *sarkār* of Sambal and 5,000 horse in every important *sarkār* of Northern India.[6]

The defence of the north-west frontier area was one of the factors which made Islām Shāh remove the turbulent

1 Banerjee—*Humāyun*, I, p. 224.

2 In his *Memoirs*, Jahāngīr, who halted at Rohtas on the Beas, in the second year of his reign, wrote, "Sher Khān died when a portion of the work was done, but it was completed by his son Salim Khān. Over one of the doors, the cost of the fort is engraved on a stone, which is set in the wall. The amount is 16,10,00,000 *dams* and something more, which is 34,25,000 rupees of Hindustan, 120,000 *tuman* of Iran, or 1,21,75,000 *khānis* of Turan." Tūzuk (Urdu), p. 122.

3 *W. M.*, 75b; *D.*, BM., 111a; *B.*, I, pp. 386-7.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Shāhī*, 252; Manucci—*Storia*, I, pp. 184 and 306.

6 *B.*, I, p. 384.

Niyāzīs from the Panjab.[1] His idea was to clear the frontier territories of all disturbing elements and to keep it in a proper defensive condition. He also kept his army and arms and ammunitions always in a state of preparedness and himself kept a vigilant eye on the frontier.

Thus Islām Shāh succeeded in warding off any possibility of Humāyun's invasion during his own reign. In 1552 Humāyun advanced from Kabul to conquer Kashmir. Having crossed the Indus, he arrived at Bhanbar, on the Sutlej, near the Kashmir border. Only a few days back, Islām Shāh had gone from the Panjab to Delhi and was suffering from a sore in his throat. Notwithstanding, at the news of Humāyun's approach, he hastened to the frontier. This frightened Humāyun's nobles into retreating towards Kabul. After this Humāyun did not dare approach the Indian frontier so long as Islām Shāh lived. The success of Islām Shāh in checking Humāyun justifies his Kabul policy.

On the eastern frontier of the sultanate also Islām Shāh kept his vigilant watch. During his reign, the kings of Arakan and Tripura who had always struggled for the possession of Chittagong area with the rulers of Bengal, kept their hands

[1] Islam Shah seriously meditated, following up in some measure his father's ideas, the destruction of the city of Lahore. It was a large and flourishing city, the centre of a rich trade and amply furnished with every useful and costly production of the times. It had a numerous and warlike population, and large manufactures of arms, offensive and defensive, of military accoutrements, and of every warlike store. If recovered and occupied by the exiled family, or by any invaders from the North, it would become, he imagined, a most convenient station, both for arming their troops, and for invading India. His plan was to raze it to the ground and remove the capital of the Panjab to Mankot, which, from its position on the Sialkot range, was less liable to invasion and more capable of defence. But this was not carried into effect.

W. Erskine—*Babur and Humāyun*, II, pp. 469-70.

[2] *B.*, I, pp. 412-13; *T.*, II, pp. 79 and 129, *D.*, BM., 113b-114a.

from it. He had, however, to face a dangerous rebellion of a pretender named Sulaimān Khān in Eastern Bengal for several years in 1546-48 A.D. A Bais Rajput named Kalidas entered the service of Mahmūd III, the last Saiyid Sulṭān of Bengal, and soon rose to the position of his *dīwān*. For his munificence to the Brahmins, Kalidas earned the name of *Gazdānī*. Afterwards he became a Muslim and was named Sulaimān Khān. Sulaimān Khān married a daughter of Maḥmūd III. In 1538 the fall of the Saiyid sultanate obliged him to retreat to Bhati, i.e., the territory comprising eastern Sylhet and Tippera and western Dacca and Mymensingh districts.

When Islām Shāh was fighting against Niyāzīs, Sulaimān rebelled in Eastern Bengal with the object of restoring the Saiyid sultanate. Islām Shāh sent an army under Tāj Khān Karranī and Dariyā Khān. In two battles Sulaimān was defeated and in the last he was killed. His sons, 'Isa and Mūsa, were captured and sold as slaves to the merchants of Turan.[1] The fall of Sulaimān saved the sultanate of Islām Shāh in the east from a very serious danger.

ISLĀM SHĀH'S ADMINISTRATION

A comparative study with Sher Shāh :

Islām Shāh inherited from his father a large empire extending from the Panjab and Sind to Chittagong and Sylhet in Bengal.[2] He did not make any new territorial acquisition. His activities show that he was more interested in the introduction of an efficient centralised administration

[1] *A. N.*, III, p. 432; N. K. Bhattasali—*'Isa Khan*, B. P. P., July-December, 1929.

[2] A. Rahim—*Chittagong under the Pathan Rule in Bengal*, JASB, 1952, pp. 24-5.

than in the expansion of the empire. It was the desire of Islām Shāh to make his mark as an administrator rather than as a conqueror. He aimed at giving stability to the sultanate and raising the dignity of the king. His works prove that he succeeded to a great extent in realising his aim.

General Policy

On the evidence of Rizq Allāh and 'Abd Allāh, who wrote that Islām Shāh reversed some of the measures and regulations of his father,[1] modern historians have stigmatised him as a narrow-minded ruler, devoid of the imperial outlook and the great political qualities of his father.[2] In fact these Persian historians, who wrote long after Islām Shāh's reign, failed to see his works and measures in perspective. A dispassionate study, however, reveals Islām Shāh as one of the great kings of the history of India, who struggled throughout his reign for the realisation of his administrative ideals and worked with untiring energy for the good of the empire and the people. He sincerely followed his father and even went further than could he expected in promoting those institutions which worked for the interest of the empire and the people.

In one of his speeches after accession, Islām Shāh declared that he intended to conserve his father's institutions and promote public welfare. We shall see that he was as good as his word. He changed only those policies and institutions of Sher Shāh which could not contribute any real benefit to the empire. 'Abd Allāh, on whose evidence the modern historians have denounced Islām Shāh, says that, after accession he, inquiring into the ordinances of his father,

[1] *W. M.*, 74b; *D.*, BM., 102b.

[2] *Cambridge History of India*, IV, 63.

left some as they were and changed others to suit his own ideas.[1]

It was only in his father's policy of expanding the empire that Islām Shāh made a conspicuous change. Sher Shāh could not completely subjugate the whole of Rajputana. He also wanted to conquer the Shī'ite sultanates of the Deccan.[2] But death cut short his career. Master of an efficient army and himself a good warrior, Islām Shāh could have followed his father in the conquest of new territories. He, however, departed from his father's policy in this respect. Islām Shāh stopped campaigns against the Rajput chiefs, some of whom still remained unsubdued. He also did not take up his father's scheme of conquering the Deccani sultanates. His sole concern was to place the existing empire on a sound footing and he devoted his whole energy to attain that object.

Islām Shāh faithfully followed his father's liberal policy towards the non-Muslims. He adopted his father's policy of advancing the Indian element, particularly the Hindus, in government service. His idea was to place them as a counterpoise to the Afghān element at court. He retained the services of his father's talented Hindu officer Todar Mal, who was later on to distinguish himself as a finance minister in the reign of Emperor Akbar. In his reign we find the rise of Hindu influence in government in the person of Hemu, originally a green-grocer, who, commencing his career as an overseer of market, rose to the position of his confidential

1 *D.*, BM., 102b :

در جمیع ضابطها پدر نظر انداخته بعضی را بحال خود
داشت و در بعضی‌جا تغیر داده ضابطها از خود بهم رسانید

2 'Abbās, 10, 98a.

agent. Islām Shāh held Hemu in so much confidence that he gave him precedence over many Afghān chiefs and sent him, at the head of the Afghāns, to perform diplomatic mission to Mīrzā Kāmrān and to arrange for his reception.[1] Indeed Hemu's elevation to the supreme position at the Afghān court as commander-in-chief and *wazīr* in the reign of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh was due to the policy of Islām Shāh.

It is gathered from an evidence of Badāunī that there was a considerable number of Hindu officers in the administration of Islām Shāh. His revenue department was manned by the Hindus. So, one day Shāh Muhammad Farmulī, an intimate companion and noble of Islām Shāh, spoke to him in jest that he saw in a dream that dust fell upon the head of the Afghān soldiers, the gold went to the houses of the Hindu clerks and the papers remained in the royal treasury.[2]

1 Badāuni, I, p. 389:
سلیم شاه بعد از استماع این خبر از تمامی‌لشکر خویش هیمو
بقال مشهور را که درین ایام بتقریب سعایت و کفایت از
شحنگی بازار بدرجه اعتبار رسیده‌بود انتخاب نموده باجمعی
دیگر از افغانان در نواحی رهتاس باستقبال میرزا فرستاد

2 Badāuni, I, 387:

که سه خریطه در اسمان فرود آمد در یکی خاک و در
یکی زر و در یکی کاغذ ازان جمله خاک بر سر سپاهی افتاد
و زر بخانهٔ هندوان دفتری رفت کاغذ بخزینهٔ پادشاهی ماند

Islām Shāh patronised the Hindu talent and intellect and maintained a generous attitude towards the liberal movement, the *Bhakti* cult of the Krishnite school, that was going on in the Hindu society of Northern India. The gifted musicians and Hindi poets, such as Ramdas,[1] Sur Das[2] and Maha Patr,[3] received the patronage of Islām Shāh and flourished at his court. Both Ramdas and Sur Das were followers as well as preachers of the *Bhakti* cult. The very fact that he patronised them and adopted an appreciative and respectful attitude to their faith and movement is an eloquent proof of his liberal and generous policy to the non-Muslims in general and the devotees of Krishna or Vishnu in particular.

That he gave the Hindus the same consideration and care which were given to the Muslims is seen from the provision he made for them in the *sarāīs*. In every *sarāī* he provided for separate dwelling, water, food, cook and servant for the Hindu travellers, traders and pilgrims.[4] Though small in itself, this provision however reflects the concern and respect of Islām Shāh for the faith, sentiment and prejudices of his Hindu subjects.

Like 'Alā al-Dīn Khaljī, Islām Shāh took the bold step of liberating the state from the influence of the *'ulema*. He loved the company of the *'ulema* and had the highest respect for them, so much so that he used to stand from his throne to receive them.[5] But they had little influence over

[1] Badāunī, II, p. 42. Badāunī says that Ramdas of Lakhnau was one of the musicians of Islām Shāh and in music and song he might be termed as second Miyān Tansen.

[2] *Afsān-i-Shāhān*, 154a-154b.

[3] Badāunī, II, p. 76.

[4] *W. M.*, f. 74a-74b; *Tabaqāt*, II, p. 115; *Firishta* I, p. 435.

[5] Badāunī, I, p. 416; *Afsān-i-Shāhān*, f. 150b.

the policy of his administration. He sought their advice but he ignored their opinion, if he thought that it would be against the interest of the state and people. He would follow a policy, which he considered expedient and beneficial to his empire. Thus, several times he turned down the advice of Ma<u>kh</u>dum al-Mulk Maulānā 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī, the *ṣadr-i-ṣudūr*, and other theologians, who gave *fatwa* that the *Mahdavī* teacher Shai<u>kh</u> 'Alāi was a heretic and should be executed. It was only when he found that the *Mahdavī* teachers' activities were going against the interests of the state that he ordered them to be whipped.[1] Indeed Islām Shāh was so bold in his defiance of the theologians that he issued general regulations, political, civil and religious, caring little whether they were contrary to religion or not.[2] His only concern was the good of the state and he issued orders accordingly.

Policy of centralisation : Islām Shāh adopted his father's ideal of centralisation of the sultanate. The only difference between the father and the son in this respect was that the former acted slowly and cautiously, making allowance for the prejudices of the Afghān chiefs, while the latter worked openly and boldly. The father made concessions where necessary. But to the son there was no compromise to the ideal and no half-heartedness in the execu tion of a policy.

The king stood for centralising the administration and opposed to him were the great Af<u>gh</u>ān chiefs, who wanted

[1] Badāunī, I, p. 403.

[2] Badāunī, I, pp. 384-5 :

خواه موافق شریعت باشد خواه نه و هیچ احتیاج نبود که
دران باب رجوع بقاضی و مفتی باید کرد

to keep their tribal independence. They would not readily consent to part with their powers and privileges and submit themselves entirely to him. In such a case, the conflict between the two opposing forces was bound to be a severe one. It, however, goes to the credit of Islām Shāh that he fought fearlessly against this strong opposition and succeeded in overthrowing it. The only objection that can be raised against him is that he was often unscrupulous in his methods. He perfidiously removed many of his opponents and ruthlessly exterminated those whom he considered dangerous to the state.

The bold and ruthless policy of Islām Shāh prepared the ground for the reception of a centralised administration. The hitherto undaunted and turbulent Afghān chiefs began to fear and obey him. He could then introduce various measures which brought them down from the position of equals to that of servants of the king.

Islām Shāh resumed the *jagirs* of the Afghān chiefs and made them stipendiaries. According to Badāunī and 'Abd Allāh, he abolished all the *jagirs* in the provinces and brought the entire country under the direct control of the royal exchequer.[1] It seems that our historians speak of the ideal which Islām Shāh wanted to attain. There is evidence which shows that the system of *jagir* was not completely abolished. The Farmulīs and the Karranīs held Kanauj and South Bihar respectively in *jagir* down to the end of the Sūr rule.[2] Though we cannot agree with Badāunī and 'Abd Allāh in their general statement, still it suggests that Islām Shāh terminated many of the *jagirs* and, as he ruled only eight years, he could not bring the entire country under

[1] *B.*, I, p. 384; *D.*, BM., 103a : جميع ولايت را خالصه خود ساخته

[2] *T.*, II. p. 120.

the exchequer. In fact, no system could be perfected in a single reign, particularly if a short one. In spite of his great popularity and other advantages, Sher Shāh did not set his hands to the annulment of *jagir*, while his son, with all his disadvantages, took a substantial step in the removal of this pernicious system. This proves that Islām Shāh made a more definite advance than Sher Shāh in attaining the ideal of centralised administration in the sultanate.

Islām Shāh broke the power of the chiefs by taking away many of their privileges. He seized their elephants, leaving then only wretched female ones for carrying baggage.[1] He forbade them the use of the red tent which he reserved as a royal privilege.[2] Badāunī says that Islām Shāh did not even allow the chiefs to keep dancing girls in the *Akharas*, forcing them to part with them.[3] In this regulation of Islām Shāh, we see the spirit of 'Alā al-Dīn Khaljī, who restricted the social gatherings and convivial parties of the nobles so that they might not easily be tempted to conspire together against him. Islām Shāh probably thought that the *Akharas*, the meeting place of the Afghān chiefs, served as centres of conspiracy against him, and therefore closed them. His desire to cleanse the Afghān social life of corruption might also have actuated him to close the *Akharas*. Islām Shāh had an eye to the morals of society. The fact that he wanted to appoint the great *Mahdavī* teacher Shaikh 'Alāi as *muhtasib* (censor of the morals) of the empire[4] suggests it.

[1-3] *B.*, I, p. 384 :
پاتران را از امرائی که اکهاره داشتند و آن در هند
مشهور است همه گرفتند و فیلان نیز هم چنان کشیده
گرفت و غیر از ماده فیلی زبون لایق بار کشی با هیچ کسی
نگذاشت و حکم کردهٔ که سراپرده سرخ خاصهٔ او را باشد

[4] See Chapter VI, p. 157.

Islām Shāh kept the pay of the chiefs and soldiers in arrears.[1] His object in doing this was to lessen the wealth of the Afghāns, so that they might be entirely subservient to him.

The Afghān chiefs could not reconcile themselves to the loss of their power and privileges. But they dared not openly rebel against Islām Shāh. They, however, plotted to murder him and place his cousin and brother-in-law, Mubāriz, on the throne. They engaged men for this purpose and, in 1551[2] and 1552,[3] made several attempts on his life. Their attempts, however, failed and the plots were discovered. These conspiracies made Islām Shāh more ruthless in his policy towards the chiefs. He wanted to execute Mubāriz. The entreaties of his wife Bībī Bāi, however, saved the life of her brother.[4]

Islām Shāh's Royalty :

By breaking the power of the Afghān chiefs, Islām Shāh made himself absolute in the empire. He also gave a spectacular form to the royalty. His idea behind this was certainly to raise kingship to a position of dignity and honour and also to impress the Afghāns with the might and majesty of the great office. Indeed in his royalty, we see the reappearance of the days of the great Turkish sulṭān, whose pomp and magnificence inspired so great awe that ambassadors and tributaries were known to faint when ushered into the august presence of the sulṭān.[5]

Following his father, Islām Shāh took the title of *Khalīfat al-'Ādil.* This is known from the numismatic

[1] *W. M.*, 75b; *B.*, I, p. 412; *D.*, BM., 111a.
[2] *Ibid*, 74b-6b; *D*,, BM., 111a-2b; *B.*, I, p. 410.
[3-4] *D.*, BM., 114a-b; *B.*, I, p. 413: *T.*, II, pp. 114-15.
[5] Baranī, 30-2. The sulṭān referred to was Balban.

evidence.[1] The assumption of this title did not mean much from the point of view of a Muslim king in relation to the caliphate, in view of the fact that the real caliphate had ceased to exist from 1517, if not from 1258. The title, however, is significant in analysing Islām Shāh's relations to the Afghāns. It indicates that he meant to be more than an Afghān king in the tradition of Bahlūl Lodī.

Islām Shāh made his court splendid by surrounding himself with dignitaries and great ceremonials. A *Tambūl-dār* would always wait on him with betel-leafs. He was a great noble and always enjoyed the status of a *wazīr.* According to Ni'mat Allāh, the office of *Tambūldār* obtained from the time of Sher Shāh and it was considered to be one of great confidence and importance in the empire.[2] 'Isa Khān Ḥujjāb held this office to both Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh.

Another great place at the court of Islām Shāh was that of *Bārbik* or the Master of Ceremonies. The *Bārbik*, also known as *amīr-i-ḥājib* at the time of the Turkish sultanate, acted as a court usher. Sarmast Khan held this office.[3] There were also *ḥājibs* or *ma'rufs* (chamberlains) in Islām Shāh's court. Under the general direction of the *Bārbik*, these chamberlains supervised all the great functions of the court and the palace. They introduced visitors to the king.[4] There were *naqībs* or heralds at court to announce the names of persons, who came to visit the king.[5]

1 Wright—*The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultanate of Delhi, coins* AE, 1428-31.

2 *M.*, 140b.

3 *B.*, I. 389.

4 Ibid, 386.

5 Ibid.

These court officials and court ceremonies greatly raised the prestige of kingship. The Afg<u>h</u>ān chiefs, who looked upon their king as only the leader of the equals, felt at the time of Islām Shāh that they had a master to be respected and obeyed. We obtain an idea of their respect and obedience to him from the writings of Badāunī. Badāunī gives an account, how the Afg<u>h</u>ān nobles of 5,000, 10,000, and 20,000 received the *ḥukmnāmas* of Islām Shāh. On Friday, they would pitch a lofty tent supported by eight poles in their *sarkārs* and place the slippers of Islām Shāh together with a quiver in front of the throne. The *sardār*, the *munṣif* and the *amīn* followed by others in order of rank and all with bowed heads and marks of respect would take their seats. The *dabīr* would then come and read aloud the *ḥukmnāmas* in the assembly. If any one contravened them, the *dabīr* (secretary) would report to the king and he was punished together with his family and relations.[1]

The above incident appears incredible. But Badāunī says that in 1548 he himself witnessed such a ceremonial at Bajwara in the *sarkār* of Biana where he accompanied his maternal grandfather. In such a case the direct evidence of Badāunī cannot be ignored as fantastic. He might have exaggerated in saying that the nobles placed the slippers of Islām Shāh as a symbol of his authority and paid their respects to them. His evidence, however, gives an idea of the character of Islām Shāh's rule. It shows that, in his reign, the authority of the king over the chiefs became a real force and the Afg<u>h</u>ān chiefs learnt to respect and obey him.

[1] Badāunī, I, pp. 384-5 :

کفش سلیم شاه رابا ترکشی که بسرداران داده بود برسر
کرسی میداشتند و نخست از همه سردار لشکر بعد ازان
منصف که عبارت از امین باشد و دیگران بترتیب سرفرود
آورده بادب تمام هر کدام بجائیگاه معین می نشستند

Indeed in it, we see the reminiscence of the sultanate of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq when, in the absence of the sulṭān, the *wazīrs* and others saluted the throne on entering the Hall of Audience with so deep an obeisance that the head almost reached the ground and the backs of their fingers touched the floor.[1]

Administrative system:

Islām Shāh was an autocrat; but his autocracy was of an enlightened character. It was directed to the attainment of the greatest good of the state and people. With a genuine feeling for the peace and happiness of his subjects, he ruled, with a policy of blood and iron, the Afghān chiefs whose insubordination and turbulence accounted for confusion in the empire and sufferings to the people. The enlightened character of his autocracy is reflected in the writings of his contemporaries. The author of *Khulāṣat al-Tawārikh* writes, "Islām Shāh adopted the same principles of justice and policy of administration as his able father. The strong was not permitted to oppress the weak. His internal administration was excellent." The author concludes, saying, "Few princes on record, in policy, justice and good government, have ever equalled Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh.[2] Even a hostile historian like Abūl Faḍl admits that Islām Shāh was fair and considerate to the people in general. This great court historian of Emperor Akbar writes, "Though Islām Shāh vexed his soldiers, yet he conducted himself with justice to his other subjects."[3]

Islām Shāh's autocracy was essentially a personal government. It derived its strength and vitality from his personality,

1 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa—*Tuḥfat un*-N*uẓẓār* II, p. 90:

فخدم الوزير عند ذلک حتی قرب راسه من الارض

2 *Khulāṣat al-Tawārikh*, *f.* 284.

3 *Akbarnāma*, I, p. 336.

energy and vigour. A man of inexhaustible energy, Islām Shāh did never allow himself rest from the state business and his master eye was everywhere, either in the civil administration or in the army organisation. The minutest details did not escape his personal supervision. He had a vigilant eye even over the conduct of the petty officers of the *parganas.*[1] He could also ignore his dangerous illness and march at a lightning speed to meet the enemy at the northern frontier of his empire.[2] His extraordinary strength of mind and determination and his untiring energy and personal supervision contributed to the success of his system of personal government.

Like his father, Islām Shāh had several ministers;[3] but they were merely his secretaries to carry on the routine work. We do not find any minister playing very prominent part in the state affairs in his reign. A student of his father's school of politics, Islām Shāh thought it impolitic to delegate powers to the ministers. He could not put much reliance on their ability, sincerity and devotion. He consulted them, but he himself decided the policy matters and dictated his decisions to them.[4] The ministers were to execute his decisions and orders and to keep him informed of the conditions and problems of their respective departments.

1. *Vakīl:* There are reasons to believe that the institution of *vakīl* existed at the time of Islām Shāh as well as Sher Shāh. It is known from Badāunī that 'Isa Khān Ḥujjāb was the *vakīl* and *wazīr* of Sher Shāh when he was still a chief

1 *Khulāṣat al-Tawārikh*, f. 284.

2 *Tabaqāt*, II, 79 and 129; Dāudī, BM., 113b.

3 Badāunī, I, p. 312:

بعضی وزرای دولت خواه او (Islām Shāh) بعرض رسانید

4 *Tabaqāt*, II, p. 117 and Firishta, I, p. 437.

of Bihar.[1] When Sher Shāh became the king of Delhi, 'Isa Khān Ḥujjāb enjoyed the highest position at his court. According to the Afghān historian Ni'mat-Allāh, the office of the *tambūldār*, the highest rank in the Afghān sultanate and a position of great confidence and dignity, was conferred on 'Isa Khān Ḥujjāb.[2] It is also seen that Sher Shāh had great respect for the advice of this Afghān chief. At his advice, Dilāwar Khān Lodī, who had been a traitor to the cause of the Afghāns, was executed and Bairām Khān, who had fallen into the hands of the Afghāns in the course of his wanderings after the Mughal disaster at the battle of Kanauj, was spared his life and honourably treated.[3] This supposes that 'Isa Khān Ḥujjāb was the prime confidant, a *vakīl*, of Sher Shāh. 'Abbās Sarwānī quotes the statement of Sher Shāh about *vakīls* and *wazīrs*, saying, "A king should not have corrupt *vakīls* and *wazīrs*."[4] This conveys the impression that Sher Shāh had *vakīl* and *wazīr*, but he took especial care that they were not corrupt.

Islām Shāh appointed the shrewd Afghān chief, 'Isa Khān Ḥujjāb, to the important office of *tambūldār*, in appreciation of his valuable service to him at the time of his accession.[5] Badāunī also says that 'Isa Khān Ḥujjāb held a position of great confidence and dignity at the court of Islām Shāh.[6] This shows that 'Isa Khān Ḥujjāb was the *vakīl* of that monarch.

1 Badāunī, I, p. 362:

عیسی خان حجاب را که وکیل و وزیر طور بود نیز با
قطب خان فرستاد

2 *M.*, 138b and 140b.
3 'Abbās (Elliot; Susil Publication), pp. 95 and 103.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 132.
5 *M.*, 138b and 140b.
6 Badāunī, I, p. 400:

عیسی حجاب نهایت درجه تقریب داشت

The office of *vakīl* is found to exist in the reigns of the later Afghān kings. It is known from the contemporary historians that Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh, at the time of his accession, appointed Daulat Khān, a new Muslim, to the office of *vakīl* and Shamsher Khān, brother of Khwās Khān, to the office of *wazīr*.[1] This Afghān monarch afterwards appointed Hemu to the offices of *wazīr* and *vakīl*.[2] The institution of *vakīl* continued even in the days of the Karranī Afghān rulers of Bengal.[3] These evidences confirm the view that the office of *vakīl* originated among the Afghāns from the time of Sher Shāh and it continued in the reign of Islām Shāh as well as of his successors.

The details of the functions of *vakīl* are not known. Taking into account the personality of the king and the dignity of the office, it can however be concluded that he was the confidential agent, the principal adviser and chief secretary of the monarch in the reigns of strong rulers, Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh. He supervised the affairs of the state on behalf of the king. In the reign of a weak king like Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh, the *vakīl* became the supreme director of the administration.

2. *Wazīr:* In the Afghān period, the ministers have commonly and collectively been referred to as *wuzarā'*. In that context when a minister has been individually mentioned as *wazīr* he has been represented as the minister of finance or the secretary in charge of the finance department. Sometimes the offices of the *vakīl* and *wazīr* were held by one and

[1] Badāunī, I, p. 418; *W. M.*, 76b; *T.*, II, p. 119. etc.

وعهده وزارت و وکالت

[2] Badāunī, I, p. 427, etc. :

هیمو بقال که وزیر و وکیل مطلق بود

[3] See Chapter VIII.

the same person. 'Isa Khān Ḥujjāb was the *vakīl* and *wazīr* of Sher Shāh.[1] Hemu combined these offices in the reign of Muḥammad 'Ādil Sūr.[2] There are also evidences to show that they were held separately by two persons.[3] One thing is however clear that the office of *wazīr* existed in one form or other, and was an essential part of the administrative system of the Sūr Afghāns.[4]

It is known from Badāunī that Islām Shāh had several ministers (*wuzarā'*).[5] One of them, called *wazīr*, was in charge of the royal treasury. The writings of the contemporaries give the impression that Shāh Muḥammad Farmūlī was in great confidence of Islām Shāh and he often brought financial matters and conditions of the treasury to the notice of the king. This Afghān noble one day spoke to his royal master in a clever manner that all the money of the treasury were going to the houses of the Hindu clerks and only the papers were left in the treasury.[6] This indicates that Shāh Muḥammad Farmūlī, who had so intimate knowledge of the treasury, was in charge of the department of finance.

The office of *wazīr* continued down to the end of the Karranī rule in Bengal. Srihari, a clever Bengali Hindu, was the *wazīr* of Dāud Karranī and had the charge of the treasury.[7]

3. '*Āriḍ-i-mumālik* was the minister in charge of the

1 Badāunī, I, p. 362.
2 Badāunī, I, p. 427.
3 Badāunī, I, p. 418.
4 *Shāhī*, pp. 372-4. Tāj K. Karranī was the *wazīr* of Islām Shāh's son and successor Fīrūz.
5 Badāunī, I, p. 312.
6 Badāunī, I, p. 387.
7 *T.*, II, p. 263; *D.*, BM., 127b and Badāunī, II, p. 181.

military department. This office was an essential constituent of the administrative system of the Turkish sultanate of Delhi. It undoubtedly continued to be so in the reigns of Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh. Islām Shāh was a militarist and his autocracy depended on force. As such he maintained a large army organisation. To look to the various affairs of the army, such as recruitment, payment, mustering, branding, arming, transport, provisions, camping and others connected with the discipline and administration of the military organisation, there was a well-constituted military department with an expert at the head.

Artillery played a very vital role in the warfare and army organisation of Sher Shāh. Islām Shāh had a big and fine park of artillery. His guns were so big that they had to be pulled by two thousand men.[1] Besides the large artillery force, a big staff of engineers and labourers of various categories were attached to the artillery.[2] It began as a branch of the *dīwān al-ʿarḍ* and was under an official who was styled *Mīr Atish* in the time of the Mughals.

4. *Dīwān-i-inshā' : Dīwān-i-inshā'* was an important department from the beginning of the Muslim rule in this country. Both Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh had an efficient staff of *munshīs* and *dabīrs* who took down the royal instructions and directions to the officers of the *parganas* and *sarkārs*. *Farmāns, ḥukmnāmas* and legislations were issued in large volumes organising civil, military and revenue affairs of the empire and regulating the conduct of the officials in relation to the people.[3] To deal with the registration and despatch of the royal edicts and orders, to attend to the correspondence

[1] *D.*, BM. 114a.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Badāunī, I, pp. 384-5.

of the *pargana* and *sarkār* officers and of the news-writers and to keep the *dāk chaukī* establishment in proper working order, Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh organised an efficient registration and correspondence department and placed it under a minister or secretary.

(5) *Ṣadr-i-ṣudūr* was a minister in charge of the religious affairs and charitable endowments. Makhdum al-Mulk Maulānā 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī, a vastly learned man of the time, was *ṣadr-i-ṣudūr* of Islām Shāh.[1] In matters relating to religion and grants to religious and learned persons and educational institutions, he advised the king. Islām Shāh had great respect for the learning of his *ṣadr*; but he was not always bound by his advice, if he thought it unreasonable and inexpedient. He several times rejected the advice of the *ṣadr* in the case of the *Mahdavī* teacher Shaikh 'Alāi.[2]

Besides these ministers and secretaries, there were other high officials and functionaries in the central structure of the Sūr Afghān administration.

The *Qāḍī* was in charge of the judicial administration of the empire. Badāunī refers to two judicial functionaries, the *qāḍī* and *muftī*.[3] There was however another judicial functionary associated with the *qāḍī*. The *muftī* expounded the law, the *qāḍī* investigated the case and the *mīr 'adl* pronounced the judgment.[4]

Bārbik or *amīr-i-ḥājib* was the chamberlain or the secretary in charge of the ceremonies at the court. He had several officials under him to help him maintain the court forms and etiquette.[5]

1 Badāunī, I, p. 393.
2 Badāunī, I, p. 402; *T.*, II, p. 117; *D.*, BM., 115a-115b.
3 Badāunī, I, pp. 384-5.
4 *Ā'īn*, II (Sarkar), p. 43.
5 See pp. 85-86.

Muḥtasib was the censor of the morals in the empire. Islām Shāh wanted to give the office to the *Mahdavī* teacher Shaikh 'Alāi, if he recanted the *Mahdavī* doctrine.[1] Shaikh 'Alāi did not agree.

Shahāngī-i-bazār was also an important officer in the reign of Islām Shāh. He was the overseer of the market. His duty was to see the supply, price, weights, etc., of the commodities in the market, so that there could be no dishonesty on the part of the manufacturers, traders and shop-keepers. Hemu held this office. The very fact that, as an overseer of market, Hemu enjoyed the confidence of Islām Shāh shows the importance of the office he occupied.

Provincial administration :

For the sake of administrative efficiency, Islām Shāh retained the *pargana* as well as the *sarkār* divisions of his father's administrative system.[2] In some respects, he however departed from his father's policy and modelled the administrative machinery with the touch of his own ideas, in order to infuse more vigour and strength in it. It was the ideal of Sher Shāh to govern in smaller units, like the *sarkārs*. Isālm Shāh, on the other hand, thought that the bigger units, such as the provinces, were more useful for an efficient centralised administration. So he instituted provincial government in the empire. Sher Shāh divided Bengal into a few parts and gave them as *jagirs* to the tribal chiefs.[3] He appoint-

[1] Badāunī, I, p. 402 :

من ترا بر تمام قلمرو خویش محتسب الهی میگردانم

[2] *W. M.*, 49a.

[3] 'Abbās., 10., 108a, BM., 57a; *T.*, II, p. 102

Sher Shāh introduced *mulūk-i-tawāif* ملوک طوایف or tribal kingdom in Bengal.

ed *Qāḍī Faḍilat* as an *amīn* or trusty to act as an umpire in the conflicts of the chiefs. After his accession, Islām Shāh reversed this arrangement of his father and appointed Muḥammad Khān Sūr as the governor of Bengal.[1]

Sher Shāh wanted to divide the Panjab into smaller units; but as he could not remove the powerful Niyāzī Afghāns, he left it undisturbed. Islām Shāh carried out sucessfully his father's intention of removing the Niyāzīs. He then could have executed his father's plan of dividing the Panjab into smaller units. Since he favoured administration in larger units, he maintained the provincial government of the Panjab and appointed Shams Khān as its governor.[2] Following this ideal, he constituted Malwa as a provincial governorship.[3] Though definite reference to other provincial divisions is not available, the action of Islām Shāh in respect of Bengal, the Panjab and Malwa suggests that he preferred administration in provincial units.

In thus constituting the provincial government, Islām Shāh proved himself more practical than his father. It is possible for the king to have direct and effective control over a governor rather than on numerous chiefs of a province. They could be best controlled through the governor. Experiences showed the soundness of Islām Shāh's practical insight into the problem. So it is found that the great administrative genius and experimentalist Emperor Akbar adopted the idea of administration in provincial units.

In Islām Shāh's provincial administration, the governor, called *ḥākim*, was his representative in the province. He

[1] Badāunī, I, p. 430: *T.*, II, p. 124. Muḥammad Khān Sūr was the *ḥākim* of Bengal.

[2] Badāunī, I, p. 383; *T.*, II, pp. 112-13.

[3] *W. M.*, 75a; *D.*, BM., 110a; *T.*, II, p. 115.

was responsible to the king for the administration under his charge. He was commander of high rank. He was to maintain peace and order and execute royal commands in the province. Islām Shāh ruthlessly dealt with a governor whose conduct betrayed the slightest sign of insubordination, as he did with Haibat Khān Niyāzī of the Panjab and Shujā'at Khān of Malwa.

Sārkār administration :

Sarkar,[1] an important administrative unit of Sher Shāh, continued to exist in the reign of Islām Shāh. It was composed of a few *parganas*, so that there were 66 *sarkārs* in the Sūr Afghān empire.

The *shiqdār-i-shiqdārān* was the chief officer of the *sarkār*. He had executive and military duties, to enforce the royal commands and maintain peace and order. He was generally the holder of a high military rank, and kept a force to discharge his duties. He supervised the work of the officials in his jurisdiction and helped the revenue officials in the collection of government dues.

The *munṣif-i-munṣifān* was the chief civil officer of the *sarkār*. He supervised the revenue administration and the work of the revenue officers of the *parganās* in his area. *Munṣif* literally means judge and this suggests that the *munṣif-i-munṣifān* was the chief judge of the *sarkār* in civil cases. He also decided the disputes of the *pargana* officers and peasants in revenue matters.

No reference to other officials of the *sarkār* is available.

[1] *Sarkār* division was not an innovation of Sher Shāh. In his *Memoirs*, Bābur gives a list of 30 *sarkārs* and *zamindāris* extending from Bhira to Bihar. It suggests that Sher Shāh maintained the administrative divisions of the Lodis and the *sarkār* divisions existed in that period.
Tūzuk-i-Bāburī—Elliot (Susil), pp. 50-51.

It is however certain that there were some treasury officers and particularly *kārkuns* in the *sarkār* as they were indispensable to an autocrat.

Pargana: A *pargana* was an aggregate of a large number of villages. It was essentially a revenue unit, concerned primarily with measurement, assessment and collection of revenue. Sher Shāh made it an effective institution of administration.

The *shiqdār*[1] was the chief officer of the *pargana*. He was an executive, military and police officer of the area. He enforced royal *farmāns*, maintained peace and assisted revenue officers in the collection of revenue from the refractory *zamīndārs* and peasants. To discharge his duties, he kept some force under his command.

Islām Shāh made the *pargana* administration very efficient by making the *shiqdār* and other officers most responsible in the discharge of their duties. In the reign of Sher Shāh, the responsibility of the *muqaddam*, the village headman, was greater than that of the *shiqdār* in maintaining peace and finding out the culprits. Islām Shāh, on the other hand, made the *shiqdār* accountable for the crime in the *pargana*, and he

[1] In Muhammad Tughlaq's reign we get reference of *shiq*. He divided the viceroyalty of the Deccan into four *shiqs* (Bārāni, p. 479), so that a *shiq* resembled a smaller province.

The reference of *shiqdār* is available in the reign of Bahlūl Lodī, who appointed a *shiqdār* in every pargana of Kampil, Patiali, Shamsabad, Sakit, Koil, Marahra and Jalala.

It is supposed that the *shiqdār* was at first an administrator of *shiq*, a division of the province. In course of time, smaller provinces and *shiqs* of bigger provinces (*wilayets*) emerged as *sarkārs* and the *shiqdār*, being an administrator of a part of the province, became the head of the pargana under the new order. See Dr. I. H. Qureshi—*Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, pp. 201-2.

In *Bahāristān-i-Ghāybi* (I, p. 123) the *shiqdār* is referred to as a revenue collector collecting revenues from the zamīndārs of Bengal. See *Ā'īn*, II (Sarkar), pp. 52-3.

was to make good the loss on account of theft or robbery. The author of *Afsān-i-Shāhān* says that the horse of a man was stolen and he lodged a complaint to the *shiqdār*. On the *shiqdār's* failure to find out the thief, the man complained to Islām Shāh. Islām Shāh ordered the *shiqdār* to pay the price of the horse to the man. In holding the *shiqdār* liable for the crime, Islām Shāh was guided by the idea that the people paid *bāj* (tax) and hence they were entitled to have peace and protection from the state.[1] Such a principle and spirit of administration made the government officers more active, vigilant and dutiful than before.

(2) *Amīn*, also called *munṣif*,[2] was the head of the revenue administration of the *pargana*. He was responsible for measurement, assessment and collection of revenue. He supervised the work of the renevue staff. As his nomenclature, *munṣif*, suggests, the *amīn* was a judge of the revenue and civil cases of the *pargana*. He was not strictly subordinate to the *shiqdār*, though he occasionally took the military or police help of the latter in the collection of revenues from refractory *zamīndārs* and peasants.

The higher officers of the *sarkār* and *pargana* were directly appointed by the king and they were transferred after two or three years.

(3) *Fotahdār*, *khazānchī* or *khazānadār* was the treasurer of the *pargana*. He was immediately responsible for the maintenance and accounts of the money that were colleced in the treasury on account of revenues.

(4) In every *pargana* there were two *kārkuns*, one

1 *Afsān-i-Shāhān*, f. 151b.

2 Badāunī, I, p. 385: منصف که عبارت از امین باشد

kārkun Hindīnavīs (Hindi newswriter), and another *kārkun Fārsīnavīs* (Persian newswriter). Their duty was to report to the king everything that happened in their locality including the condition of the people and conduct of the officers, so that prompt action might be taken to remedy matters.

(5) The *qānūngo* was the most essential revenue officer of the *pargana*. As his name implies, the *qānūngo* was the repository of all revenue regulations of the locality. 'Abbās Sarwānī says that even before the time of Sher Shāh, there was a *qānūngo* in every *pargana*, from whom was ascertained the present, past and probable future state of the *pargana*.[1] He was to be well conversant in revenue regulations and local customs, so that his knowledge and experience might help in efficiently running the revenue administration of the *pargana* and in suggesting improvement in revenue system.

According to Abūl Faḍl, the *qānūngo* was the refuge of the husbandman.[2] This shows that the *qānūugo* was to represent the peasants to the government and to look after their interests. He was thus a government officer as well as a representative of the *ryots*. He was a semi-government hereditary officer, appointed from among the people of the *pargana*. He was paid a salary of rupees twenty.[3]

Islām Shāh entrusted the *qānūngo* with more responsi-

1 'Abbās (Elliot—Susil), p. 136.

2 *Ā'īn* (Sarkar), II, p. 72.

3 *Ā'īn* (Sarkar), II, p. 72. It appears from the writings of Abūl Faḍl that there were three ranks of *qanūngoes* and they were paid rupees fifty, thirty and twenty according to their rank. Speaking of the position and duties of *qānūngo* Abūl Faḍl writes, "There is one in every district (pargana). At the present time the share of the *qānūngo* (one per cent of the produce) is remitted and the three classes of them are paid by the state according to their rank. The salary of the first is fifty rupees, of the second, thirty; of the third, twenty and they have an assignment for personal support equivalent thereto."

bilities. "He employed the *qānūngoes* to watch over and report on the condition of the *ryots*, and the state of the cultivation of the soil and crops and the extent of offences and crime."[1] This made him a newswriter and a check to the *kārkuns* in case of their exaggerating and concealing facts.

Village : The administration of the village, the smallest administrative unit in the empire, was generally left to the *panchayet*, or the chiefs of the village. For revenue matters and for helping the villagers maintaining local peace, the government however provided for some semi-government village officers.

(1) *Muqaddam*, the village headman, was a semi-government village officer appointed from among the chief men of the village. He helped the *pargana* officers in maintaining peace and order in the village. He was the village revenue collector and was paid a share of the produce, generally one-tenth of the cultivators.[2]

(2) *Patwārī* was the village accountant.[3] Abūl Faḍl gives an idea of his position and duties. He says, "The *patwārī* is a writer employed on the part of the cultivator. He keeps an account of the receipts and disbursements, and no village is without one." This shows that he was a semi-government officer and a representative of the *ryots*. He kept the revenue records, such as the holdings of the villagers, the various crops produced in their lands and the government dues from them. It appears from the writings of Abūl Faḍl that the *patwārī* was paid in a per cent. of the produce of the cultivators.[4]

[1] *Khulāṣat al-Tawārikh*, f. 284.

[2] 'Abbās (Elliot—Susil), pp. 123 and 35.

[3] *Ā'īn* (Sarkar), II, pp. 72, 49 and 51.

[4] *Ā'īn* (Sarkar), II, p. 72. Abūl Faḍl says, "He (Akbar) reduced the duty on manufacturers from ten to five per cent. and two per cent. was divided between the *patwārī* and *qānūngo*."

(3) The *choudhury* was a semi-government local officer who represented the *ryots* in the measurement of land and was paid some fees in produce by the cultivators.[1] He seems to have been in charge of several villages.

Revenue system :

Islām Shāh continued his father's revenue system. It is known from Abūl Faḍl that the prevailing revenue practice at the time of Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh was the *jarīb* or the measurement system. This *Mughal* historian writes, "Sher Khān and Islām Khān, under whom Hindustan was released from the custom of dividing the grain and its apportionment, in measuring land used this *gaz* [Sikandari *gaz* of 41 and a half silver coins=32 digits (finger) in length]."[2]

There were several land revenue systems in pre-Sher Shāh period, of which *sharing* of crops (*ghallabakhsh*) and *appraisement* were the prevailing practice. Under the *sharing* system the actual produce of land was divided between the cultivator and the state. The state's share was generally 1/5 and the cultivator received 4/5 of the produce. The *sharing* system was too cumbrous; it necessitated the employment of a very large staff of officers and labourers at the harvest time, construction of a large number of store-houses in different parts of the empire and the making of proper arrangements for the preservation of the various kinds of grains, many of which were highly perishable.

To obviate the disadvantages of the sharing of the actual produce, the method of *appraisement* was sometimes adopted. Experienced men with their expert knowledge estimated the probable produce by inspecting the crops before the harvest.

1 'Abbās (Elliot—Susil), p. 23.
2 *Ā'īn-i-Akbari* (Sarkar), II, p. 66.

On the basis of this estimated produce, the state demand was settled.[1] It could be fixed in kind as well as in cash, taking into account the market price of the crops. This *appraisement* system, because of its dependence on guess work, was not satisfactory either to the peasants or to the state.

A keen student of history, Sher Shāh saw the defects of the prevailing revenue systems. He appreciated the *jarīb*, which had been neglected by the former rulers, although they allowed it to exist as one of the minor methods of revenue settlement.[2] Sher Shāh adopted this method, and elaborated and developed it. Islām Shāh continued his father's method and made it the prevailing system in his empire.

The *jarīb* system involved survey, measurement and recording of the various holdings of the cultivators. A *gaz* of 32 digits was the unit of measurement. 60 *gaz* in length and 60 in breadth made a *jarīb*. It was equivalent to 3,600 square *gaz* (square yards) and would form a *bigha*.[3] The measurement was thus made per *bigha* and the records of the holdings of the cultivators were also kept *bigha* by *bigha*. Rope was used in the measurement of land.

The land of the different regions was classified into *good*, *middling* and *bad* and their records were kept. Then the produce of three classes of land was averaged crop by crop and ¼ of the average produce was fixed as the state demand. On this basis, the schedule of demand was prepared for different regions, showing the rate of revenue to be realized

1 Dr. I. H. Qureshi—*Administration of Sultanate*, pp. 104-5.

2 Baranī (p. 287) mentions that the method of measurement existed at the time of 'Alā al-Dīn Khaljī. He says that henceforth 'the rate of measurement and yield per *biswah*' were to be adopted.

Dr. Qureshi is of opinion that measurement system existed in the Hindu times. *Administration of Sultanate*, p. 105.

3 *Āi'n-i-Akbari* (Sarkar), II, p. 67.

by the state for various crops per *bigha.* The schedule represented rates in kind. The cultivators had however the option to pay the price of the government share of the produce.

The Schedule of Demand given in the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* was of the time of Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh. This is expressed in the writings of Abūl Faḍl, who says, "The revenue levied by Sher Shāh, which at the present day is represented in all the provinces as their lowest rate of assessment, generally obtained, and for the convenience of cultivators and soldiery, the value was taken in ready money."[1] This leaves no room for doubt that the revenue practice and assessment rate of the Sūr Afghāns were adopted by Akbar in the beginning of his reign and this rate generally prevailed, because it was the lowest state demand on the peasants.

Under this system, there was no need of yearly survey. The government was simply to obtain records from the local officers about the area under cultivation and crops cultivated. When this was known it was easy to fix the state demand on the basis of the schedule.

Islām Shāh kept a vigilant eye so that the revenue officers did not oppress the peasants and exact money from them. He obtained regular information from the newswriters and the *qānūngoes* about the condition of the *ryots*, the cultivation of the soil and of the crop. Islām Shāh made the *qānūngo* a most responsible officer.[2] The *ryots* gave an undertaking called *qabūliyat*, which contained a short account of his

[1] *Ā'īn* (Sarkar tr.), II, p. 68.

Dr. I. H. Qureshi (*Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 234) reads the translation of the *Ā'īn* thus:

"The (figures of mean) produce adopted by Sher Shah, lower than which cannot be found throughout the provinces, were accepted and for the convenience of cultivators and soldiery, the value was taken in ready money."

[2] *W. M.*, 74b ; *D.*, BM., 103a.

holdings and the amount he agreed to pay as revenue to the state. It was duly signed and attested. In return the government granted him a *patta* (title deed), giving him security in the possession of his land.

Army organisation: Islam Shāh was a militarist and hence was keenly alive to the necessity of maintaining an efficient army as an indispensable instrument of a centralised administration. So he greatly improved the military organisation he inherited from his father. His experience under his father helped him in modelling his army into a disciplined force under his direct control. Islām Shāh divided his army into several divisions beginning from 50 to 20,000 and introduced the system of *manṣab* in the army.[1] He placed each division of the army under a noble, who was paid, according to his *manṣab*, in stipend from the royal treasury instead of in *jagir*. This made the Afghān chiefs stipendiaries and official nobles of the king.[2] Islām Shāh also introduced the system of paying the soldiers in cash[3] and strictly enforced the branding regulations.[4]

In order to keep watch over the conduct of the *sardārs* and nobles, Islām Shāh, like his father, appointed one Persian news-writer and one Hindi news-writer to accompany every force of 5,000 troops. He also attached three eunuchs to every division of the army. The news-writers and eunuchs were to report to the king everything about the army to which they were attached.[5] Islām Shāh also appointed one Persian *munṣif* and one Hindustani *munṣif* to each division. As in the

1 *W. M.* 74b; *D.*, BM., 103a.
2 *D*, BM., 103a.
3 *B.*, I. p. 384: سپاهیانرا زر نقد میدادند
4 *Ibid.*
5 *W. M.*, 74b; *D.*, BM., 103a.

days of Sher Shāh, they examined the brands in the army.[1] Islām Shāh gave particular attention to providing the army with arms and ammunitions. He maintained an efficient artillery. His guns were so big that they had to be pulled by two thousand men.[2] A staff of engineers accompanied every division of the army. According to 'Abd Allāh, when Islām Shāh advanced against Humāyun at the frontier he had 150,000 wood-cutters and 150,000 men to dig trenches.[3] This might have been an exaggerated number; but it gives an idea that the engineering department of Islām Shāh was well-manned.

It was due to an efficient army organisation that Islām Shāh could maintain the solidarity of the empire, in the face of the opposition of the turbulent Afghān chiefs and frighten Humāyun back to Kabul when in 1552 he advanced towards Kashmir.

Dāk chaukī : To have direct control over the various localities of the empire and to keep himself informed of the conduct of the nobles, Islām Shāh extended the *dāk chaukī* (postal system) and the espionage of his father's time.[4] He improved both these centralising institutions. Ni'mat Allāh says that, in order to ensure the regularity of the despatch, the *dāk chaukī* establishment delivered everyday a *turban* of Sonargaon and a handful of fresh rice from Bengal to Islām Shāh wherever he might be.[5] Two horsemen and some footmen were posted in every *sarāī*; they carried the despatch from one *sarāī* to another till it reached the king.[6]

1 *W. M.*, 74b; *D.*, B.M., 103a.

2 *Ibid.* and *D.*, BM., 114a.

3 *D.*, BM., 114a.

4 *Shāhi*, 250.

5 *Tārikh-i-Khān Jahānī*, India Office, MS., 102a.

6 *D.*, BM., 103a.

A Legislator: As a legislator Islām Shāh was not inferior to his father. His regulations withdrawing the privileges of the Afghān chiefs, abolishing the *jagir* system and organising the army and his enactments regulating the conduct of the local officers in relation to the state and the people show that he was one of the great legislators of the Indian history. In his legislative work, Islām Shāh was actuated by the idea of developing an orderly centralised state, which was to work for the good of the people.

The *ḥukmnāmas*, which Islām Shāh issued to all the *sarkārs* of his empire credit him as a great legislator. They contained comprehensive instructions on all important affairs—religious, political and civil in 80 sheets of paper. They were intended to regulate the life of the soldiers, the subjects, the merchants and other classes of people. The *ḥukmnāmas* were a sort of manual of instructions to be followed by the local officers in their dealings with the people. The officers read them in the public meeting and thus gave them adequate publicity in the localities.[2] Indeed in the *ḥukmnāmas* of Islām Shāh, we see his desire to systematise, codify and rationalise the local laws and at the same time to provide the local officers, with a manual of instructions regulating their conduct in relation to the state and people.

[2] *B.*, I, pp. 384-5:

حکمنامها در اطراف ولایت بهر سرکاری نوشت که شامل جمیع
معاملات و مهمات دینی و ملکی و مالی باشد و نقیر و قطمیر
ضروری و بربستهائی که سپاهی و رعیت و سوداگر و طوایف
مختلف ا بکار آید و حکام را سلوک باید کرد دران مندرج بود....
دبیری ان حکم نامه را که بمقدار هشتاد بند کاغذ بود کما
بیش مبوب و مفصل میخواند و هر مسئلهٔ که اشکال میداشت
بجمیع شقوق و انواع دران میبافتند و بعمل در می آوردند -

The success of Islām Shāh in establishing an efficient centralised administration and raising the dignity of the king proves that, as a ruler, he was not inferior to his illustrious father, rather, in some respects, he was superior to him. Indeed he possessed ideas and also the requisite qualities for translating them into practice. His boldness, untiring energy and supreme self-confidence[1] accounted for his success in his great administrative enterprise. Even Abūl Faḍl, who brands him as a tyrant,[2] appreciates his qualities saying that had he been a servant of Emperor Akbar and entrusted with the work of guarding the frontiers of the empire, he would have earned great renown.[3] In fact, the way he crushed the turbulent Afghān chiefs and tamed them to respect his throne, and guarded the frontiers and preserved the integrity of his vast empire illustrates the qualities of his character. So Abūl Faḍl could say that Islām Shāh surpassed even his father in wickedness.[4]

Defects of autocracy: Islām Shāh thus introduced a highly organised autocratic regime in the Afghān sultanate and conferred peace, order and prosperity to the vast empire. But the autocratic system of Islām Shāh suffered from some defects. In spite of all capacities and energies, it is humanly impossible for one man to decide every issue, look to every problem and keep an eye on every department and institution of the empire. Islām Shāh tried to do this impossible and did not trust his ministers with high responsibility. Though he succeeded in doing this, his success accounted for the weakness of his dynasty. His regime was opposed to the production of any constructive statesman among the

1 *W. M.*, 76b; *D.*, BM., 116b.
2 *A. N.*, I, p., 337.
3 *Ibid*, 339.
4 *Ibid*, 196.

Afghāns. It is because of the absence of any constructive statesman after his death in his people that the Afghān empire disintegrated into pieces.

Islām Shāh's policy of weeding out the powerful Afghān chiefs was not politically sound. By doing this, he destroyed the real strength of the Afghān empire. The Afghān chiefs remained in sullen discontent in his reign and when his minor son Fīrūz ascended the throne, they ventilated this feeling in murdering the boy king and introducing civil war in the sultanate,

Benevolent work and patronge to learning :

Although an autocrat and severe in his treatment to the Afghān chiefs, Islām Shāh was enlightened and cultured and was devoted to the happiness and progress of his subjects. He had a genuine feeling for his people and tried for their welfare in every possible way. He had great love for learning and the learned and was keenly interested in the promotion of education in his empire. So, there was substantial progress of learning and culture during the period of his rule.

Islām Shāh promoted the benevolent institutions of his father. Sher Shāh built *sarāīs* at a distance of two *kos*; Islām Shāh, however, built between every two another *sarāī* and provided them with every comfort necessary for travellers, both Muslims and Hindus. Every *sarāī* had a dwelling place, wells and kitchens containing cooked and uncooked food. A mosque was attached to every *sarāī* and an *imām*, a *mu'azzin* and a servant were appointed to it. Sher Shāh had built 1,700 *sarāīs*; in the reign of Islām Shāh, the number rose to 3,400.[1] Islām Shāh also arranged for the distribution of

[1] *W. M.*, 74a-b; *B.*, I, p., 384; *F.*, I, p., 435; *T.*, II, p., 115.

alms for the poor from every *sarāī* instead of from the royal camp which was the practice in his father's time. He also provided that indigent travellers and mendicants should be supplied with all their needs from the *sarāīs*.[1]

Islām Shāh maintained the charitable institutions, the grants to religious and educational foundations as well as the gardens of his father's time.[2] Abūl Faḍl's accusation that Islām Shāh and his father made lavish grants of lands confirms it.[3]

In his patronage to learning, Islām Shāh surpassed his father. And indeed his encouragement gave a great stimulus to literary activities and the development of the Persian language and poetry in particular. Sher Shāh read a little Persian taught to the beginners in the Persian schools in India. Islām Shāh was a good poet, who competed with great poets of the time in composing elegant verses and was highly esteemed by the learned.[4] The poets and the learned were his constant companions. Badāunī says that Mīr Saiyid Ni'mat Allāh, known by his poetical name as Rushūtī, who was an incomparable learned man of the age, was his constant companion.[5] Shaikh 'Abd al-Ḥai, a vastly learned man and a poet,[6] and Shāh Muḥammad Farmulī, a man renowned for his wit and humour, were the favourite companions of Islām Shāh.[7]

Islām Shāh took great interest in discussions with the learned and the poets. Near his own residence, he provided

1 *D.*, BM., 103a.
2 *B.*, I, 384.
3 *Ā'īn*, I, 296.
4 *B.*, I, p. 416.
5 *Ibid*, 415.
6 *Ibid*, 410.
7 *Ibid*, 387.

beautifully furnished pavilions, where the learned and the poets like Mīr Saiyid Ni'ma, Shāh Muḥammad Farmulī, Haitī, Saifī and Sur Das met and recited poetry and debated literary and philosophical questions. Islām Shāh would often join them in their discussions. He pleaded that they should not rise to greet him when he entered.[1]

One incident illustrates Islām Shāh's love and respect for learning and the learned. The author of *Afsān-i-Shāhān*, Kabīr, says that Islām Shāh and Mullā 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī were once passing through a defile when they saw an enraged elephant rushing towards them. 'Abd Allāh wanted to proceed, but Islām Shāh would not let him. He said, "O, Emperor, let me step forward, for if you are killed, the whole empire will fall into disorder," Islām Shāh said, "Master, you do not realise that there are nine lacs of Afghāns to replace me, but if you perish, another like you may not be born in India for ages."[2]

Badāunī also says that Islām Shāh had great respect for the learning of Mullā 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī, though he knew that the Mullā was not sincerely devoted to him and favoured the restoration of Humāyun. One day Islām Shāh said to his nobles that Bābur had five sons and all had left India except one and that was Mullā 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī. On being asked why he kept the Mullā at court, he replied that he could not find a better one than him.[3] And indeed this Mullā was one of the vastly learned men of the time and unrivalled especially in the knowledge of the *Qur'ān*, *Ḥadīth*, scholastic theology and all those branches of learning which depend on memory. He was the author of *Ismat-i-Ambiyā'*

[1] *B.*, *I*, p. 416; *Afsān-i-Shāhān*, 154a-b.
[2] *Afsān-i-Shāhān*, 150b.
[3] *B.*, I, p. 416.

and *Shama'li nabī*, the best two of his compositions. Humāyun gave him the title of Makhdum al-Mulk and Shaikh al-Islām.[1]

Under the patronage of Islām Shāh, Hindi literature also made a considerable progress. The stimulus it received from Malik Muḥammad Jaisī, a great Hindi poet of the time of Sher Shāh,[2] continued throughout the reign of Islām Shāh. The well-known Hindi poet and musician Sūr Das, who later on became the court musician of Akbar,[3] flourished under the patronage of Islām Shāh. Shāh Muḥammad Farmulī was also a gifted poet in Hindi. Mīrzā Kāmrān said that he could gain international fame, if he wrote in Persian.[4]

Islām Shāh as a man :

As a man Islām Shāh was imperious, vindictive and ruthless. He could brook no opposition to his will and ruthlessly crushed his opponents. His elimination of the Afghān nobles proves it. His dealings with his brother 'Ādil Khān and his adherents reveal him as a man perfidious, cruel and unscrupulous. Islām Shāh broke the solemn compact he made with his brother and ruined him. In 1552, he also gave a promise of safety to Khwās Khān and had him treacherously put to death by Tāj Khān Karranī.[5]

Although he was a terror to the Afghāns, Islām Shāh was not without the finer sentiments of a man. He had but one wife Bībī Bāī and he was devoted to her. She seems to

[1] *B.*, III, p. 70.

[2] Shirref—Malik Muḥammad Jaisi's *Padmavati*, 9-14.

[3] Blochmann—*Ā'īn*, I, 682; *Afsān-i-Shāhān*, 154a-b.

[4] *Afsān-i-Shāhān*, 146a-b.

[5] *B.*, I, pp., 409-10; *F.*, I, p. 435; *Shāhī*, 250-54.

have some influence on him as we find in the case of Mubīriz Khān. Islamhāh felt the necessity of executing him as he considered him a danger to the throne of his son and heir Fīrūz. He, however, could not execute him as Bībī Bāī did not consent to it.

According to orthodox Badāunī, Islām Shāh was a good Muslim, who never missed his prayers or touched any intoxicants.[1]

Islam Shāh's place in history :

Islām Shāh occupies a very significant position in Indo-Muslim history. In him we see the fruition of the ideas of Sher Shāh and also of the initiation of many of the institutions and principles which passed as a precious legacy to his Mughal successors.

Islām Shāh made a definite contribution to the system of strong monarchy and centralised administration. By assuming the title of Khalīfat al-'Ādil and surrounding himself with dignitaries and great ceremonials, he gave spectacular form to royalty and greatly raised the dignity and majesty of kingship. Indeed his work encouraged Akbar to propound the theory of ' divine right of kingship' which is revealed in the writings of Abūl Faḍl, who says, "Royalty is a light emanating from God and a ray from the sun."[2] In connection with the pardon of Dāud, Akbar said, "By virtue of our being the shadow of God, we receive little and give much. Ou forgiveness has no relish for vengeance. "[3] Following Islām Shāh Akbar took the title of Khalīfat al-Ilahī and elevated

[1] *B.*, I, p., 416.

[2] Blochmann—*Ā'īn*, I, p. iii; Ibn Hasan—*Central Structure of Mughal Empire*, p. 59.

[3] *A.,N.* III, p., 97.

royalty to a unique position. His reduction of the dignity of the Mughal chiefs to a position of official nobility was but a continuation of the policy and work of Islām Shāh.

In Islām Shāh's system of administration in bigger units, we find the beginning of Akbar's *sūbah* administration. To him is also due the credit for the introduction of the *manṣabdārī* system which received systematic shape in Akbar's reign. Indeed Islām Shāh's was the first attempt at the codification of the local laws regulating the lives of the individuals and officers. His *ḥukmnāmas* are the precursor of the '*dastūr-i* '*amal*' (the manuals of instruction) of the Mughal times.

Significant was also the contribution of Islām Shāh to the elimination of the undesirable influence of the theologians in the state and society. He did not accept their advice to persecute the *Mahdavīs* and thus tolerated their ideas. Indeed his activities in this respect prepared the way for the rationalism of Akbar's reign. Also Islām Shāh's liberal policy towards the non-Muslim elements of India's population encouraged his great Mughal successor to advance further in promoting the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity and preparing the grandios scheme of establishing a national monarchy in India.

In Islām Shāh's patronage to the learned and his interest in philosophical discussions with them, we see the dawn of the intellectual renaissance that took place in the reign of Akbar.

CHAPTER V

MUHAMMAD 'ĀDIL SHĀH AND THE AFGHĀN LOSS OF NORTHERN INDIA

The death of energetic Islām Shāh and the minority of his successor Fīrūz gave the Afghān chiefs an opportunity to reassert their position in the sultanate. The attempt of weak 'Ādil Shāh to follow Islām Shāh, however, revived the conflict between the king and the chiefs culminating in the dissolution of the sultanate and the Afghān loss of sovereignty in Northern India.

Murder of Fīrūz

On October 30, 1553, on the death of Islām Shāh, his son Fīrūz, a boy of twelve, was placed on the throne at Gwalior by the supporters of the late king. Tāj Khān Karranī, to whom the dying king had entrusted the guardianship of his minor son, became his *wazīr*.[1] But the disaffection, which Islām Shāh's policy of strong monarchy and centralised government had created among the Afghān chiefs, proved too strong for the boy king and his guardian minister and on the third day of his accession,[2] Fīrūz was killed by his maternal uncle Mubāriz Khān Sūr, a son of Sher Shāh's younger brother Nizām Khān Sūr, who had the support of Pahār Khān Sarwānī, Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, Shamshīr Khān, the younger brother of Khwās Khān, and other disaffected

[1] *Shāhī*, 272-4.

[2] *B.*, I, p. 416; *T.*, II, p. 118; *F.*, I, p. 438.

All the contemporary historians, except Ahmad Yadgar, say that Fīrūz was killed within a few days of his accession, the general statement being 3 days.

Afghān chiefs.[1]

In his life time Islām Shāh had foreseen that such a calamity might happen to his successor and he wanted to ensure his safety by executing Mubāriz, who formed the centre of the conspiracy of the Afghān chiefs against him. His wife Bībī Bāī, however, prevented him from executing her brother, saying that he was given to music and pleasures and was not interested in the throne. Islām Shāh was disgusted and remarked that she would live to see the consequences of her folly. Badāunī writes that the prophecy of Islām Shāh came true and, in spite of all her entreaties, Mubāriz murdered her son in her very presence.[2] With the consent of the chiefs, Mubāriz then ascended the throne and assumed the title of Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil.[3]

'Ādil's accession, a triumph for the chiefs :

The murder of Fīrūz and the accession of 'Ādil to the throne was a victory for the Afghān chiefs and a defeat for the idea of strong monarchy and centralised government. It was the reassertion of their former power and position in the sultanate. Islām Shāh's strong monarchy and centralised administration had taken away from them their powers and privileges and had made them subservient to the throne. The self-willed Afghān chiefs could not submit themselves to such a humiliating position. They plotted and conspired against Islām Shāh, but they failed; the iron hand of the autocrat was too strong for them. In the death of Islām Shāh, however, they obtained an opportunity to recover their former power and position.

1 *W.M.*, 76b.

2 *B.*, 1, p. 416.

3 *Ibid*, 417; I, p. 438; *T.*, II, p. 119; *M.*, 162a; Wright-*The coins and metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 366.

Even though Fīrūz was a boy, the Afghān chiefs could not accept his accession, because they thought that, being the son of an autocratic ruler, he would carry on the ideas and traditions of his father. Bent on uprooting the idea of strong monarchy, they supported 'Ādil in murdering Fīrūz. Thinking that, as 'Ādil was given to music and pleasures, he would not care much for a strong monarchy and his accession would ensure their tribal autonomy and influence in the state. So they supported him for the throne. Moreover, Fīrūz was nominated for the throne by his father. The chiefs, who had always their choice in the affairs of succession, could not accept the nomination and enthronement of Fīrūz, as it meant their surrender of an important privilege to the king. Hence they rallied round 'Ādil in his attempt to get the throne.

Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil began his reign by conferring favours and important offices on his supporters. He appointed Shamshīr Khān, and Daulat Khān, a new Muslim and a protegé of the Lohānīs, as *wazīr* and *vakīl* respectively. He also gave high position to Pahār Khān Sarwānī and Irbrāhīm Khān Sūr.[1] He restored Shujā'at Khān, who had been in the bad graces of Islām Shāh, to Malwa. Hemu became his trusted confidant and the supervisor of his important affairs, civil and military.[2]

'Ādil wanted to gain popularity by the lavish grant of money. Following the example of Muḥammad Tughlaq for whom he had a great admiration, he opened the royal treasure for the people and scattered money among them.[3]

1 *W.M.*, 76b; *B.*, 418: *T.*, II, p. 119.
2 *W.M.*, 77a; *B.*, I, p. 389 and 418; *M.*, 162b.
3 *T.*, II. p. 119; *B.*, I, p. 418; *F.*, 1, p. 439; *Shāhī*, 272.

'Ādil deceives the chiefs :

The Afghān chiefs had raised 'Ādil to the throne thinking that, being accustomed to a life of singing and dancing and of the pleasures of the *ḥarem*, he would care very little for the administration and that this would afford them an opportunity to establish their ascendancy in the sultanate. Indeed 'Ādil was a musician and a great master of the art of music in that age. Miyān Tansen, the great musician of Akbar's court, and Bāz Bahādur, the king of Malwa and a gifted musician, were his disciples.[1] 'Ādil's musical performances took the musicians of the time by surprise. He was such a master musician that he could play with *Pākhwāz*, a kind of musical drum of the size of a man, both with hand and foot.[2] Under his instruction, a *Bhagat* boy, who was named Mujāhid Khān, became an excellent musician of the time.[3] Indeed 'Ādil gave a great stimulus to the development of the Indo-Muslim music. The musician king, however, soon deceived the Afghān chiefs. As soon as he felt himself secure on the throne he adopted Islām Shāh's policy of strengthening the monarchy and ruining them. He followed his autocrat predecessor in enlisting the support of the Indian section of the people. 'Ādil raised Hemu to the *wizārat* and made him his uncontrolled agent in all the affairs of administration.[4] He also appointed the *Bhagat* boy Mujāhid Khān as a commander of 10,000.[5] 'Ādil's idea was to curb the power of the Afghān chiefs with the help of this new group of official supporters.

'Ādil followed Islām Shāh's policy of strengthening the

[1] *B.*, I, p. 416.

[2—3] *Ibid*, 435; Ranking, I, 557. *Bhagat* is a religious mendicant, a worshipper of Vishnu (Wilson A Glossary of terms in British India, 74).

[4] *W.M.*, 78a; *B.*, I, p. 427; *M.*, 162b.

[5] *B.*, I, p. 435.

monarchy, but he did not possess the competence of that monarch. Badāunī rightly says that 'Ādil was by no means fitted for the conduct of important affairs of civil and military administration.[1] Indeed on numerous occasions he showed his incapacity and incompetence. He projected the re-distribution of the *jagirs* to establish his control over the Afghān chiefs. But when an Afghān chief rudely opposed the transfer of his *jagir*, in great fear, Sulṭān 'Ādil fled from the *darbār* to the *ḥarem*. This revealed how utterly incompetent he was in carrying through his idea of a strong monarchy.[2] His pathetic appeal to Hemu for help in 1555 when Muḥammad Khān Sūr of Bengal faced him in the battle of Chapparghata[3] exposed his lack of energy and fighting quality which were so essential for an Afghān king.

On account of his incompetence, 'Ādil proved himself quite incapable of following the policy of energetic Islām Shāh. By his policy he raised the forces of fierce opposition and rebellion, but he failed to suppress them. This caused the dissolution of the Afghān sultanate and paved the way for the loss of Afghān sovereignty in Northern India.

Rebellions of the chiefs :

'Ādil had scarcely reigned a month when the Afghān chiefs rebelled in different parts of the sultanate and there arose a number of rival claimants for the throne.[4] Most of the contemporary historians are of opinion that 'Ādil's murder of Fīrūz and usurpation of the throne, his elevation of low-born Hindu Hemu to the supreme position in the sultanate, the repugnance of the Afghān chiefs to obey a Hindu

1 *B.* I, p. 418.
2 *Ibid*, 420; *T.*, II, p. 121; *F.*, I, p. 439; *M.*, 163b. Also see p. 119.
3 See p. 124.
4 *T.*, II, p. 119; *B.*, I, p. 418.

and Hemu's insolent behaviour towards the Afghāns accounted for a widespread rebellion in the Afghān empire.[1]

Indeed the murdur of Fīrūz enraged the partisans of the family of Islām Shāh. The raising of Hemu to the supreme position could not have failed to cause dissatisfaction among the proud Afghān chiefs. But the evidence that Hemu behaved insolently towards the Afghāns is not borne out by facts. It appears that the contemporary historians have expressed a common prejudice of the Muslims of the time towards the elevation of a Hindu to the supreme position in a Muslim sultanate. In fact, Hemu took much care of the Afghāns. Even Badāunī says that Hemu would often invite the Afghān soldiers to dine at his table and ask them to eat to their satisfaction.[2]

'Ādil's policy of establishing a strong monarchy and ruining the chiefs was the principal cause of the rebellions in the sultanate. The rebellions were in fact, the revival of the conflict of two opposite forces—the idea of strong monarchy and the tradition of tribal independence of the Afghāns.

Aiming at an extention of royal authority, 'Ādil wanted to redistribute the *jagirs* of the sultanate. In a *darbār* at Gwalior, he gave an order transferring the *sarkār* of Kanauj, a *jagir* of Muḥammad Khān Farmulī, to Sarmast Khān Sarbanī. But, Muḥammad's son Sikandar Khān Farmulī protested against the interference of the king in their *jagir*. This led to a quarrel in the *darbār* and it ended in a bloody dispute in which several lives were lost and a few were wounded. The contemporary historians say that, in the midst of the bloody scene, " 'Ādil got up and ran to the *ḥarem*. Sikandar rushed after him, but 'Ādil bolted the door

1 *W.M.*, 78a; *B.*, I, p. 418; *F.*, I, p. 439; *M.*, 162b.
2 *W.M.*, 78a; *B.*, I, pp. 413-4; *M.*, 116a.

from inside and with great difficulty escaped. This affair went on for an hour or two."[1] The courage of Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr and the death of Sikandar Khān Farmulī, however, saved 'Ādil's position at that time.

The above incident reflects the nature of the Afghān monarchy and the idea of the Afghān chiefs regarding their *jagirs*. They considered the *jagirs* as theirs by right and disfavoured the king's interference in their affairs. In trying to interfere in their jurisdiction, 'Ādil alienated them from his rule.

Like Islām Shāh, 'Ādil wanted to destroy the Afghān chiefs. He put to death Daulat Khān Niyāzī and Fīrūz Khān Kākar and imprisoned Nasīb Khān Sarwānī, Isma'il Khān, Allahdād Khān Miyāna and Niẓām Khān Shāhūkhail.[2] 'Ādil's design on Tāj Khān Karranī failed, as that clever chief escaped from Gwalior on the eve of the Gwalior *darbār*.[3] He also intended to ruin his sister's husband Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, who, however, managed to flee to his father Ghāzī Khān Sūr, governor of Biana and Hindaun.[4]

Dissolution of Afghān sultanate and civil wars :

Dissatified with 'Ādil's activities, the self-willed Afghān chiefs rose against his authority. Ni'mat-Allāh and 'Abd Allāh give a picture of the state of affairs saying, "From country to country, from town to town, all was in a state of rebellion."[5] Tāj Khān Karranī rebelled and established himself in South Bihar. Muḥammad Khān Sūr, the governor of Ben-

1 *T.*, II, pp. 120-1; *B.*, I, pp. 419-20; *F.*, I, p. 439; M., 163a-b.
2 *Shāhī*, 291.
3 *T.*, pp. 121-2; *B.*, I, pp. 419-20; *M.*, 163b-4a; *F.*, I, p. 440.
4 *Shāhī*, 291; *T.*, II, p. 122; *B.*, I, p. 421; *M.*, 164a-b.
5 *M.*, 162b; *D.*, BM., 120b.
چنانکه ملک مملک شہر شہر فتنه قایم شد -

gal, declared independence and prepared to make a bid for the sovereignty of Northern India. Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr and Aḥmad Khān Sūr, a nephew of Sher Shāh, rebelled and pretended for the Afghān throne. The Afghān chiefs joined the party which suited their interests best. When 'Ādil was engaged in fighting these rebels and pretenders, Bāz Bahādur, son of Shujā'at Khān Sūr, succeeded his father in the governorship of Malwa and assumed sovereign power in that province.[1]

By nature and temperament, 'Ādil was incapable of dealing with the country-wide rebellions. But he found in Hemu a competent general. Even Abūl Faḍl expresses high appreciation for the courage and capability of Hemu. On account of bodily deformity, Hemu could not ride a horse and he was always carried about in a *haudah* (*sindūq-i-fil*).[2] His valour and daring, however, won great victories and he performed marvels.[3] De Laet also says that Hemu was an energetic soldier.[4] Indeed it was Hemu's generalship that saved the sultānate of 'Ādil from a collapse; 'Ādil's cause against rebels and rivals and even against the Mughals prospered so long as this competent general and administrator directed the army and the ship of the state.

At first, Sulṭān 'Ādil defeated Tāj Khān Karranī at Chappramau, 40 *kos* from Agra and 30 *kos* from Kanauj. The defeated Karranī chief, however, joined by his brothers and other Afghāns, established himself in South Bihar.[5] 'Ādil and Hemu confronted them on the bank of the Ganges.

[1] *T.*, III, pp. 421-2; *F.*, II, pp. 537-8; M., 167a-b.
[2] *A.N.*, I, p. 340.
[3] *Ibid*, 338.
[4] *De Laet*, 140-1.
[5] *T.* II, pp. 121-2; *F.*, I, p. 440; *M.*, 163b-4a.

One day Hemu proposed to his master that if he would give him a *halqa* of elephants (one hundred elephants), he would cross the river and destroy the Karranī rebels. 'Ādil complied with his request. Crossing the river, Hemu fought a desperate battle with the Karranīs and dispersed them.[1] As 'Ādil required his services in dealing with the troubles in the northern part of the sultanate, Hemu could not follow up his victory to crush the power of the Karranīs in South Bihar.

About this time, the pretender Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr had defeated 'Ādil's general 'Isa Khān Niyāzī in a battle near Kalpi[2] and occupied Delhi, Agra and the neighbouring territories. Leaving the Karranīs, 'Ādil and Hemu hastened to the Jumna. Finding a vast army with Ādil, Ibrāhīm played a trick on him. He sent an envoy to 'Ādil proposing that if he would send to him Rai Ḥusain Jilwāni, Bihar Khān Sarwānī and some other Afghān chiefs upon whose assurances of protection he could depend, he would come personally to make his submission to him. 'Ādil sent his great nobles to him. Ibrāhīm, however, won them all over to his side and prepared to fight. This defection of the chiefs greatly weakened 'Ādil and he returned in a helpless state to Chunar, which he had made his capital. Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr assumed the title of Ibrāhīm Shāh and had his name entered in the *Khutba* and on coins.[3]

Another pretender Aḥmad Khān Sūr had declared himself as an independent ruler in the Panjab. He assumed the title of Sikandar Shāh and, entertaining hopes of still further

[1] *T.*, II, pp. 121-2; *F.*, I. p. 22; *M.*, 163b-4a.

[2] *Ibid*, 121; B., I, pp. 421-2; *M.*, 164a-b.

[3] *Ibid*, 122; B.; I. p. 422; *M.*, 164b: Wright—*The coins and metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 378.

increase of power, he advanced towards Delhi and Agra.[1]

The rival pretenders competed with one another in winning over the Afghān chiefs. Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr gave velvet tents, standards and kettle-drums to 200 Afghān chiefs.[2] He gave everyone, who came with ten or fifteen horsemen, a banner and a *jagir*. Badāunī says that Ibrāhīm Sūr showed great favour to Ḥājī Khān Sulṭānī the powerful chief of Alwar. He bestowed on him a lofty spacious tent covered on the outside with *saqirlat* (*siqlat*; silken stuff brocaded with gold) of Portugal and on the inside with a Frankish velvet. Besides, he lavished upon Hājī Khān magnificent carpets and vessels of gold and silver and many other valuables.[3] In this way, Ibrāhīm raised an army of 80,000 men. He then advanced to meet the forces of Sikandar Khān Sūr.

The two armies met at Farrah, 10 *kos* from Agra.[4] The army of Sikandar numbered only 10,000. Frightened at the great superiority of the enemy, he made overtures for peace in the following terms: "The country from Delhi to the east should belong to Ibrāhīm; the Panjab, Multan and other north-western territories were to be under Sikandar." It was also stipulated that if Ibrāhīm took possession of 'Ādil's treasury, he should give a share of the same to Sikandar and his chiefs.[5]

Proud of his great army, Ibrāhīm turned down Sikandar Sūr's proposals for the division of the empire and he arranged

1 *T.*, II, pp. 122-3; *B.*, I, pp. 421-2; *F.*, I, p. 441; *M.*, 164b; *Shāhī*, 300-1; Wright—*The coins and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 379 ; coins dated, 962H.

2 *T.*, II, p. 123; *B.*, I. p. 423.

3 *B.*, I. p. 423.

4 *Ibid*, 422; *T.*, II, p. 123.

5 *B.*, I, pp. 423-4.

his forces in battle array. In the later part of 1554, a fierce battle took place at Farrah and, in spite of numerical inferiority, Sikandar Sūr obtained a decisive victory over his rival. He occupied Agra and Delhi and pursued Ibrāhīm Sūr from Sambal to Etawa. About this time, he received the news of Humāyun's occupation of Lahore.[1]

Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr collected a fresh army and advanced towards Kalpi. About this time, 'Ādil sent his *wazīr* and commander-in chief Hemu from Chunar with a large army and 500 elephants to recover Delhi and Agra. When Hemu reached Kalpi he resolved first to dispose of Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr. In a battle he defeated Ibrāhīm Sūr and pursued him to Biana. Again in a battle in the outskirts of Biana, Hemu defeated him. As Ibrāhīm took shelter in the fort of Biana, he besieged it and the siege continued for three months.[2]

When Hemu was in Biana, Muḥammad Khān Sūr of Bengal captured Jaunpur and made for Kalpi and Agra. Frightened at the sight of the vast enemy forces, 'Ādil sent an urgent summons to Hemu, saying, "At all costs come to me at once, because I am confronted by a powerful enemy."[3] Hemu abandoned the siege of Biana. As he proceeded towards Kalpi, Ibrāhīm Sūr followed him and at Mandagar, 6 *kos* from Agra, attacked his rear. Hemu, however, defeated him and drove him away. Ibrāhīm Sūr fled to the shelter of Ḥajī Khān of Alwar; but, being refused by him, he took the road to Patna.[4]

After his victory over Ibrāhīm, Hemu resumed his march and joined 'Ādil at Chapparghata, 15 *kos* from Kalpi and

[1] *B*, I,. p. 427; *T.*, II, p. 124.
[2] *Ibid*, 430; *T.*, I p. 123; *F.*, I, pp. 441-2.
[3] *Ibid*, 430-1; *T.*, II, p. 124; *M.*, 165b.
[4] *T.*, II, p. 124; *B*, I. p. 430-I; *M.*, 165b.

15 from Agra.[1] Here 'Ādil and Muḥammad Khān Sūr were facing one another for long with the Jumna between them. Hemu's arrival, however, turned the scale. In a battle in December, 1555, Hemu defeated and killed Muḥammad Khān Sūr.[2]

Humāyun's restoration:

When 'Ādil was engaged in dealing with Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr and Muḥammad Khān Sūr, Humāyun occupied Delhi and Agra. After 1552[3] Humāyun dared not invade India so long as Islām Shāh lived. The news of the death of that energetic Afghān king, the feeble rule of 'Ādil and the internal discord among the Afghāns however encouraged him to make an attempt for the recovery of his throne. Abūl Faḍl, Firishta and other contemporary historians write that Humāyun received from some persons of Delhi and Agra letters, informing him of the death of Islām Shāh and of the civil wars among the Afghāns.[4]

On November 12, 1554, Humāyun marched from Kabul to invade India. Engrossed in civil wars the Afghāns had neglected the defence of the north-west frontier. So, Humāyun crossed the Indus unopposed and made a swift attack on the fort of Rohtas. Tātār Khān Kāsī, Sikandar Khān Sūr's governor of the Panjab fled without any resistance. On February 24, 1555, after a little fighting, the Afghāns left Lahore in the hands of the Mughals.[5] From Dipalpur also the Afghān generals, Shāhbāz Khān and Nasīr Khān took to flight in great panic and confusion.[6]

[1] *T.*, II, p. 124; *B.*, I, p. 432; *F.*, I, p. 442.
[2] *Ibid.*, 124.
[3] *F.*, I, pp. 443-2.
[4] *F.*, I, p. 456; *A.* N. I, p. 336.
[5] *A. N.*, I, p. 336; *F.*, I, p. 456; De Laet, 139
[6] and [7] *F.*, I, p. 457; *T.*, II, pp. 80-I, Banerji-*Humāyun*, II, p. 232.

When Sikandar Khān Sūr was pursuing Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr in Etawa, he heard of Humāyun's occupation of the Panjab.[1] He sent 30,000 cavalry under Tātār Khān Kāsī, Haibat Khān and Nasīr Khān against the Mughals. On May 12, 1555, they fought at Machiwara a battle against Humāyun's general Bairām Khān.[2] Badāunī says that being harassed by the Mughal fire, the Afghāns took shelter at night in a neighbouring village. A fire broke out in the village and the Afghāns were clearly seen by the Mughal soldiers whereas they could not see the Mughals. Niẓām al-Dīn writes, "In the glare of the fire the enemy presented a fine target for Mughal shafts and, being unable to endure them longer, they took to flight."[3]

At the news of the Machiwara disaster, Sikandar Khān Sūr advanced to the Panjab with a force of 80,000 cavalry and a strong force of artillery and elephants. On June 22, 1555 (*Sha'bān* 2, 962), he fought a fierce battle with the Mughals near Sirhind.[4] Although the Afghāns were four times as numerous as the Mughals, yet they were completely defeated. Badāunī says that they behaved with courage and valour but could not contend against their fate. Defeated Sikandar fled to the Siwalik hills.[5] On July 20, 1555 (*Ramḍan* 1, 962), after fifteen years of exile, Humāyun re-entered his capital Delhi.[6] He then occupied Agra and the adjoining territories. His general Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān Atka invested Biana. Being in a straitened condition, Ibrāhīm

1 *B.*, I, p. 460; T., II, p. 81.
2 Stewart's Jauhar, 114; *F.*, I, p. 457; Banerji - *Humayun*, II, p. 235.
3 *B.*, 1, p. 460; *T.*, p. 82; *F.*, 1, p. 457. Firishta says that it was a winter night and Afghāns kindled the fire. But being the month of May, it cannot be a winter season.
4 T., II, p. 88 and 82; *B.*, I, p. 460; Banerji - *Humayun* II, pp. 233-4.
5 *B.*, I, p. 461; *T.*, II, p. 82.
6 *T.*, II, p. 83.

Khān Sūr's father Ghāzī Khān Sūr surrendered. He was, however, executed by the Mughal general.[1]

Humāyun did not long survive his restoration. He died on January 28, 1556 (15 *Rabī* ‘I, 963). On February 14, 1556 (2 *Rabī* II, 963), Akbar, who was in the Panjab with his guardian Bairām Khān, was crowned at Kalanur.[2]

Hemu recovers Agra and Delhi :

After his victory over Muḥammad Khān Sūr at Chapparghata in December, 1555, ‘Ādil intended to send Hemu to repel the Mughals.[3] He came to Chunar to raise a strong force capable of fighting the formidable enemy. He was soon informed of the death of Humāyun. The news of Humāyun's death and the accession of a boy on the throne induced ‘Ādil to send Hemu with a force of 50,000 horse and 500 elephants towards Agra and Delhi. But he himself could not leave Chunar on account of the factions which prevailed among his people.[4]

It seems that ‘Ādil could not send Hemu against the Mughals immediately after the death of Humāyun. The flight of the Mughal generals and governors from Agra and other places at the approach of Hemu and his consequent speedy conquest of Mughal possessions suggest that Hemu's march from Chunar to Delhi could at most have taken two months. According to Abūl Faḍl, Hemu fought and defeated Tardī Beg and also occupied Delhi on the same day, *i.e.*, October 7, 1556 (*Zīlḥaj* 2, 963).[5] Had Hemu advanced immediately after the death of Humāyun, he would have occupied

1 *B.*, I, pp. 462-3.
2 *T.*, II. p. 83 and 85; Banerji - *Humayun*, II, p. 256 and 259.
3 *B.*, I, p. 433.
4 *Shāhī*, 348-50; *M.*, 165b; *F.* I, pp. 442-3; De Laet, 140-1.
5 *A. N.*, II, p. 29.

Delhi six to seven months earlier than he actually did.

Moreover, at his accession Akbar inherited all the territories recovered by his father, for even after his coronation at Kalanur, he stayed several months in the Panjab fighting against Sikandar Khān Sūr. Had Hemu occupied any Mughal territory, Akbar and Bairām Khān would not have neglected to come to the capital Delhi.

Furthermore, in view of his greatly reduced forces on account of constant warfare against the rebels and also of the strength of the enemy, who had defeated Sikandar in several battles, 'Ādil could not have sent his army immediately after Humāyun's death. The raising and equipping of an army must have taken him some months.

Badāunī and Niẓām al-Dīn's writings also reveal the rapid march of Hemu to Delhi. These Mughal historians say that when Hemu approached Agra, Sikandar Khān Uzbek, the governor of Agra and Kalpi, fled towards Delhi.[1] 'Abḍ Allāh Khān Uzbek, Ḥaidar Khān Muḥammad and others left Etawa, Biana and other places and hastened to Delhi.[2] 'Ālī Qulī Khān Zamān, who had been in Sambal, received letters from Agra, Etawa and other places informing him of the approach of Hemu and asking him to proceed to Delhi.[3]

As Hemu drew near to Delhi, Tardī Beg, 'Abd Allāh Khān Uzbek, Sikandar Khān Uzbek and other Mughal generals arranged their forces outside Delhi. On October 7, 1556 (*Zilḥaj* 2, 963), Hemu engaged them near Tughlaqabād in the environs of Delhi. The sight of the large force

1 T., II, p. 129; *B.*, II, p. 13.
2 *Ibid*, 129.
3 *B.*, II p. 15

under the distinguished general Hemu seems to have damped down the fighting spirit of the Mughals. So, Abūl Faḍl writes, "Many of the brave men from motives of prudence and some out of cowardice were not willing to fight. Some brave men were, however, determined to fight and die."[1]

In the first phase of the battle, Hemu's left fell back before the fierce attack of the Mughal right. Hemu, however, made a violent attack with his elephants on the Mughal centre whose commander Tardī Beg, being unable to stand, took to flight. Niẓām al-Dīn says that, by his artifice and tactics, Hemu prevailed over Tardī Beg and made him flee.[2] Victorious Hemu obtained enormous booty, 1,000 horses and 160 elephants and occupied Delhi.[3]

Hemu Vikrāmaditya: Some modern historians think that, after his occupation of Delhi, Hemu made no pretence of restoring his master. He took upon himself the sovereign power, by assuming the title of *Raja Vikramjit* (a Persian form of *Vikramaditya*; *Vikramaditya* was an illustrious king of ancient India) and issuing coins bearing his title.[4] These historians have based their view on the evidence of the contemporary Persian historians. The Mughal historians say that, vaunting too much of his achievements, Hemu assumed the title of *Raja Vikramjit* and asked the Afghāns to salute him as Hemu Shāh.[5] Aḥmad Yadgar writes, "Having obtained possession of so many things appertaining to royalty, Hemu began to entertain ambitious ideas. He distributed all the spoils, with the exception of elephants, among the Afghāns and won them over to himself. With their concur-

1 *A. N.*, II, pp. 129-30.
2 *T.*, II, pp. 129-31.
3 *Shāhī*, 151-3.
4 *Cambridge History of Inlia*, IV, 72; *Advanced History of India*, 446.
5 T., II, p. 131; *B.*, II, p. 15; *F.*, p. I, 464; Dorn, 176.

rence, he raised the imperial canopy over himself and ordered coins to be struck in his name."[1]

The evidence of the contemporary Persian historians cannot be accepted because there is no numismatic evidence to show Hemu's assumption of the insignia of sovereign power. Besides, the title *Vikramjit*, which is considered to have been assumed by Hemu, was, in fact, conferred on him by 'Ādil in 1553. It is known on the evidence of 'Abd Allāh that 'Ādil gave Hemu this title, after the latter had obtained a brilliant victory over the Karranī rebels.[2]

Moreover, we cannot believe that the proud and self-willed Afghān chiefs would have consented to Hemu's assumption of sovereignty and to saluting him as Hemu Shāh. Had Hemu assumed sovereign power, he would not have been able to command a large army of the Afghāns in the battle of Panipat. Even Aḥmad Yadgar's statement indicates that Hemu remained loyal to 'Ādil. This Afghān historian has quoted Hemu's letter to 'Ādil, after his occupation of Delhi, to illustrate the deceitfulness of the former to the latter. But in fact, this letter expresses Hemu's loyalty and subservience to 'Ādil. Aḥmad Yadgar says that, in order to console 'Ādil, Hemu wrote to him, "Your slave by the royal fortune routed the Mughal army, which was as firm as the iron wall. I hear that Humāyun's son commands a numerous force and is advancing against Delhi. For this reason, I have kept the horses and elephants to fight the formidable enemy.[3] According to Aḥmad Yadgar, 'Ādil was comforted by these deceitful assertions.[4] But neither the letter nor the conduct of Hemu upto the Battle of Panipat betrayed his disloyalty to his master.

[1] *Shāhī*, 352-3.
[2] *D.*, BM., 121b.
[3] and [4]. *Shāhī*, 352-3.

Battle of Panipat :

On the news of Hemu's occupation of Delhi, Akbar and Bairām Khān left Gulbadan Begam's husband Khwāja Khiḍr Khān to deal with Sikandar Khān Sūr and they hurried from Jalandar towards Delhi. At Sirhind the defeated general Tardī Beg and other Mughal nobles presented themselves before Akbar. Here Bairām Khān, who had the general direction of affairs, executed Tardī Beg. Ostensibly, Tardī Beg was executed for what Bairām Khān considered as his flight in a cowardly fashion from Delhi. This step was taken as a warning to cowardly generals. Firishta is of opinion that such an action was a necessity. He writes, "I understood from the best informed men of the times that had Tardī Beg not been executed by way of example, such was the condition of the Mughal army and the general feeling of those foreigners that the old scene of Sher Shāh would have been acted again.[1]

But the real cause of the execution of Tardī Beg by Bairām Khān was the power and the influence of the former, who became almost a rival to the latter. There was also a long standing quarrel between the two. Besides the personal rivalry, the party conflict of the Persian and Turanian nobles for influence at the court greatly accounted for this drastic action against Tardī Beg. Bairām represented the Persian nobility, while Tardī Beg was the leader of the Turanian nobles. The party conflict was further aggravated by the Shiʿa and Sunni feelings of the Persian and Turanian nobles. The flight of Tardī Beg from Delhi gave Bairām Khān a pretext to remove his rival in the name of the imperial necessity.

After the execution of Tardī Beg, Bairām Khān made preparations for the recovery of Delhi and Agra. He sent in

[1] *F.*, I, p. 464.

advance 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān with a force of 10,000 and himself and his royal ward with the rest of the army followed them.

Hemu prepared to meet the Mughals. To check the advance of the enemy he sent in advance his park of artillery. In an engagement with the Mughal advance guard, it was defeated and dispersed.[1] The news of this disaster distressed Hemu and disheartened his men. Hemu, however, encouraged them by giving an elephant to every chief and promising increased pay as well as rewards to the officers and soldiers.[2] With 30,000 cavalry and more than 1500 elephants, he then came to Panipat and met the Mughal advance guard,[3] which according to Abūl Faḍl, numbered 1,000 souls of whom only 5,000 were men of battle.[4] On Thursday, November 5, 1556 (*Muharram* 2, 964), the contending forces advanced to fight in the following battle array.[5]

Right	Centre	Left
Shādı Khān	Hemu	Ramya

Left	Centre	Right
'Abd Allāh Khān Uzbek	'Alī Qulī Khān	Sikandar Uzbek

[1] *A. N.*, II, p. 35-6; *T.*, II, p. 131; *F.*, I, p. 463.
[2] *Ibid*, 35-6.
[3] *Ibid*, 50; *B.*, II, p. 16; *F.*, I, p. 465.
[4] *A. N.*, II, p. 37.
[5] *A. N.*, II, p. 37; *T.*, II, p. 131; *F.*, I, p. 465 and *B.*, II, p. 16.

A Mughal assault shook Hemu's wings and his commander of the right, Shādī Khān Kākar, fell in the field. With his fierce war elephants, Hemu, however, made a desperate charge and shook the Mughal left. He then fell on the centre under 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān. The Mughals received Hemu with showers of arrows. An arrow pierced his eye and came out at the back of his head. Seeing Hemu thus mortally wounded, his men dispersed in panic.

As Hemu's elephant was making off towards the jungle, a Mughal officer, Shāh Qulī Khān, fell in with the elephant and discovered Hemu lying wounded in the *haudah*.[1] He then drove the elephant to Akbar and Bairām Khān who had just then arrived at Panipat and received the news of victory.[2] Abūl Faḍl says that Bairām Khān asked Akbar to slay Hemu and earn the merit of a *Ghāzī* (religious warrior). As Akbar did not care to kill a fallen enemy, Bairām himself slew Hemu.[3]

Abūl Faḍl has high appreciation for the genius of Hemu and he regrets that Bairām Khān unwisely killed him. He says that Hemu was a most excellent servant possessed of a lofty spirit and if he could be induced to serve Emperor Akbar, he would have performed great things.[4]

The death of Hemu was a great calamity to 'Ādil. It was Hemu's energy and generalship which had so long preserved his position against his enemies. In Hemu's death, the musician king lost the prop of his strength and spirit and became

[1] *T.*, II, pp. 131-2; *A. N.*, II, p. 49; *F.*, I, p. 465. Abūl Faḍl and Firishta say that Hemu's own driver, for fear of his life, betrayed his master to Shāh Qulī Khān.

[2] *A. N*, II, p. 39.

[3] *Ibid*, 41-2; *T.*, II p. 132. Jahāngīr writes (Rogers - *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 40) that Akbar said that, in his boyhood, he had drawn and killed the picture of Hemu and hence he declined to kill a killed man.

[4] *A. N.*, II, p. 42.

as helpless as a boy without a guardian.

The Afghān loss of Northern India :

The battle of Panipat had dispossessed the Afghāns of the territories from the Panjab to Agra; but still they held a large part of India. The Siwalik hills of the Panjab remained under Sikandar Khān Sūr. Rukn Khān Lohānī, an *amīr* of 'Ādil, held Sambal.[1] Ḥājī Khān governed Alwar and Mewat.[2] 'Ādil retained his hold on the territories from Lucknow and Gwalior to the borders of Bengal. Bāz Bahādur and Bahādur Khān Sūr ruled Malwa and Bengal respectively. Thus the territories under the Afghāns were twice as extensive as the empire of Akbar and their united action might still have retrieved the situation even after the disaster of Panipat.

But on account of their factions, the Afghāns could not see the long-term interest of the Indian Afghāns. They continued to fight one another even after their great common calamity and thus prepared their own grave. A few Afghān chiefs fought individually against the Mughals and fell, while others remained passive spectators expecting to profit by the fall of the chiefs of their own race.

When 'Ādil's general Hemu was fighting at Panipat, Bahādur Khān Sūr of Bengal seized the opportunity to stab him in the back. He occupied Bihar and advanced to revenge the death of his father. In April, 1557, 'Ādil fought against him at Fathpur, 4 miles west of Surajgarh, and he was killed.[3] It was Akbar's good fortune that his Afghān enemies were fighting and killing themselves and thus facilitated the establishment of his supremacy in Northern India. So Abūl Faḍl

1 A. N., II, p. 56.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *B.*, I, p. 433; *F.*, I, p. 443; Dacca University, *History of Bengal*, II, p. 180.

writes. "I admire the wonderous fortune which occurred to the empire from the mutual contention of the enemies. They fought one another and showed themselves auxiliaries of the eternal dominion."[1]

Sikandar Khān Sūr fought against the Mughals in the Siwalik hills of the Panjab and in March, 1557, he obtained a victory over Khwāja Khiḍr. At this news, Akbar and Bairām Khān advanced to deal with him.[2] Sikandar retreated to his stronghold in the Siwalik hills, which Abūl Faḍl mentions as a refuge of the disaffected and headstrong spirits of India. As Akbar won over the local *zamīndārs*, Sikandar was obliged to take shelter in the impregnable fortress of Mankot built by Islām Shāh.[3] The Mughal forces closely besieged the fort and prevented egress and ingress to it.[4] Shortage of provisions ultimately forced Sikandar to open negotiations for peace and on July 25, 1557 (*Ramḍān* 27, 964), he surrendered on Emperor Akbar's promise of a *jagir* to him in Bengal. As a surety for his loyalty to the Emperor, he gave his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sūr and confidendial agent Ghāzī Khān Tanūrī to the service of the Mughal empire.[5]

Ḥājī Khān, who had joined Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr in the battle of Farrah and deserted him after his defeat, joined Hemu in the battle of Panipat. After the battle, he retired to Alwar. With his men and goods, the father of Hemu took shelter with him. Akbar sent an army under Pīr Muḥammad Khān Shirwānī to Alwar. Ḥājī Khān fled to Ajmir and Alwar including Mewat fell into the hands of the

1 *A. N.*, II, p. 58.
2 *T.*, II, p. 133; *B.*, II, p. 18.
3 *T.*, II p. 133; *B.*, II, p. 18; *A. N.*, II, pp. 47-51.
4 *A. N.*, II, p. 58.
5 *Ibid.*, 59; *T.*, II, pp. 134-5; *F.*, I, p. 466.

Mughals. Hemu's father fell a captive to them. Ḥājī Khān fought the Raja of Ajmir and occupied his terrotory.[1] At the approach of the Mughals, he, however, fled to Gujrat and joined the Afghān chiefs of that country.[2]

In 1557, Khān Zamān defeated and drove away Rukn Khān Lohānī from Sambal.[3] Another Afghān chief Jalāl Khān Sūr, in alliance with Ḥasan Khān Bachotī, one of the great *zamīndārs* of India, fought against Khān Zamān near Lucknow. But he suffered reverses at the hands of the Mughal general.[4] As a result of these defeats, the Afghāns lost to the Mughals the territories from Sambal to Lucknow.

Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, who had issued from his refuge in Patna after the death of 'Ādil, took possession of Jaunpur.[5] In 1558, Khān Zamān advanced to conquer Jaunpur. Being unable to stand the assault of the Mughal general, Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr fled to Orissa. Khān Zamān occupied Jaunpur. In the same year, Bahādur Khān of Bengal advanced towards Jaunpur with 30 to 40 thousand horse intending to drive away the Mughals from Northern India. Khān Zamān, however, drove him back to Bengal.[6]

The Afghān chiefs continued their isolated efforts to recover Northern India. The partisans of 'Ādil placed his son Sher Khān (called Sher Shāh II) on the throne at Chunar and in 1561, with a large force of 20,000 cavalry, 50,000 infantry and 500 elephants, they proceeded to recover Jaunpur. In an engagement near Jaunpur, the Afghāns defeated Khān

1 A. N, II, pp. 45-6.
2 *B.*, II, p. 32 and 45; *Mir'āt A.*, I, pp. 90-1.
3 *A. N.*, II, p. 56; De Laet, 142.
4 *A. N.*, II, p. 56; *B.*, II p. 25; De Laet, 142.
5 *Ibid*, 82.
6 *B.*, II, p. 48; De Laet, 142.

Zamān's forces. Thinking that they had won the victory, the Afghān soldiers turned to plunder. Khān Zamān took the opportunity to make a dash on them. This unexpected attack confounded the Afghāns and they fled in great confusion and panic. Thus the Afghāns, through their cupidity and indiscipline, lost a victory.[1] After this defeat, Sher Shāh II took to the life of a recluse.[2]

Feeling that the Afghān fortune was irretrievably shattered and ruined and it was impossible for him to continue the possession of Chunar, Fattū Khān Masnad-i-'Alī, a noble of 'Ādil, willingly surrendered the great fort to the Mughal general Aṣaf Khān and entered the service of Emperor Akbar.[3]

When the nobles of 'Ādil had placed his son Sher Shāh II on the throne at Chunar, the supporters of the family of Islām Shāh chose his son Awāz Khān as their king at Rohtas. They took advantage of Khān Zamān's pre-occupation with Sher Shāh II to seize some Mughal territories. Then in 1561, after Sher Shāh II's defeat, they advanced towards Jaunpur with a large army. In an engagement at Andhiari, the Afghāns beat a detachment of Khān Zamān and then they gave themselves to plunder. Abūl Faḍl says that an accident saved the position of the Mughals. An unruly elephant of Khān Zamān's brother Bahādur Khān fell into the hands of the Afghāns. Some Afghān soldiers unchained the elephant and tried to ride it. The elephant became violent and created confusion among them. The Afghāns, who were busy in plunder, mistook the confusion to be their defeat and took to their heels.[4] With a small force, Khān Zamān obtained a

1 *B.* II, p. 48; *A.N.* II. pp. 138-39; *D.*, B.M., 126a.
2 *A. N.*, II, p. 49; *D.*, B.M., 126a.
3 *Ibid*, 149-50; *B.*, II, p. 63; *T.*, II, p. 170.
4 *Ibid*, 22.

decisive victory over them.[1]

Awāz Khān's was the last attempt of the Afghāns to recover their lost territories. After this, they ceased to launch any systematic offensive against the Mughals and they gave their attention mainly to preserving what they still held in India. Emperor Akbar was not however least inclined to allow them retain possession of any territory in India. His conquest of Malwa illustrates this fact.

The Afghān loss of Malwa :

Bāz Bahādur, the king of Malwa, had given no immediate cause for offence to Emperor Akbar. When his fellow chiefs were fighting the Mughals, he remained unconcerned at the fate of his Afghān people. If he rejoiced at the downfall of his Afghān rivals or hoped by standing aloof to avoid their fate, he was disillusioned, because Emperor Akbar would never tolerate the existence of an Afghān kingdom by the side of his empire. Indeed quite early in his reign Emperor Akbar made preparations for the conquest of Malwa.

According to the contemporary Persian historians, the misgovernment of Bāz Bahādur was the cause of Akbar's invasion of Malwa. They say that Bāz Bahādur was so much immersed in pleasure, music and women that he could not distinguish between day and night.[2] Indeed Bāz Bahādur was a great musician. He gathered at court and palace nine hundred singers, musicians, songstresses and dancing girls, of whom Rupamati excelled all in beauty and wit. He was adept in various kinds of Hindi tunes and in the composition of Hindi love songs. During his reign, music reached

[1] *B.*, II, pp. 24-5.

[2] *A. N.*, II, pp. 134-6; *T.*, II, p. 151; *M.*, 168a; *Maāthir*, I, p. 388.

its perfection.[1] Being thus given to Muses, Bāz Bahādur neglected the government of the country. His indifference to the affairs of the state caused sufferings to his people and Emperor Akbar thought it his duty to deliver them from the evils of misgovernment.[2]

It may, however, be pointed out that the misrule of Bāz Bahādur did not in any way injure the interests of the Mughal empire. So, the question of misgovernment was simply an excuse to justify the conquest of that country. The real cause of the invasion was that Akbar could not reconcile himself to leaving the Afghāns in the possession of the fertile country of Malwa, which enjoyed a position of great strategic importance for subjecting Rajputana, Gujrat, Gondwana and also for an expansion in the Deccan.

Akbar's first preparations for an attack upon Malwa, made in 1559, were abortive for the rebellion of Bairām Khān made it necessary to recall the army under Bahādur Khān, the brother of Khān Zamān.[3] In 1561 after Bairām's fall, Akbar renewed his attempt, sending a large army under Adham Khān and Pīr Muḥammad Shirwānī.[4] Bāz Bahādur was so given to pleasure that he did not act until the Mughals had arrived within three miles of his capital Sarangpur. Ni'mat Allāh says that it was only then, yielding to urgency, that he left the room of his beauties and took the field. The Mughals, however, defeated him and occupied Malwa.[5]

[1] *M.*, 168a-b; *F.*, II, p. 538.
[2] *Ibid*, 168a; *A. N.*, II, p. 134-6; *T.*, II, p. 151; *Ma'āthir*, I, p. 388.
[3] *A. N.*, II, p. 90; *B.*, II, p. 29.
[4] *Ibid*, 135; *M.*, 168a.
[5] *M.*, 168a; *A. N.*, II, p. 136; *F.*, II, p. 538.

Bāz Bahādur wandered in the jungles of Malwa and Khandesh. Pīr Muḥammad Khān Shirwanī again defeated him at Awan in Bijgarh.[1] Bāz Bahādur took shelter with Mīrāk Mubārak Shāh, the ruler of Khandesh. In 1562, he advanced towards Malwa with a large army of Khandesh and in an engagement on the bank of the Narbada, he defeated Pīr Muḥammad, who, in his flight, was drowned in the river.[2] At his approach, Qiyā Khān and other Mughal generals left Malwa. Bāz Bahādur recovered his Kingdom and throne.[3]

Bāz Bahādur had scarcely time to draw breath before Akbar sent 'Abd Allāh Khān Uzbek to Malwa. As resistance to the mighty Mughal force was beyond his power, Bāz Bahādur left the country without an engagement with them.[4]

Bāz Bahādur first took shelter with Baharji, the *zamīndār* of Baglana, and thence he went to Gujrat seeking help of the Fūlādī Afghān chiefs of Patan.[5] Being disappointed, he went to Ahmadnagar. As he failed to obtain help of the Niẓām al Mulk, he went to Rana Pratap Singh of Mewar.[6]

Abūl Faḍl says that Akbar felt pity for the musician ex-king of Malwa and in 1571 induced him to come to the court with a promise of favour. He made him a court musician and gave him a manṣab of 1,000 which was later on raised to 2,000.[7]

[1] *A. N.*, II, p. 166; *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 390.
[2] *Badāunī* (II, p. 51) says, "He went by water to fire."
[3] *A.N.*, II, pp. 167-8; *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 390; *F.*, I, p. 541.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Mir'āt S.*, 333a and 345b; Fazlulla - *Mir'āt S.*, 295, 299.
[6] *A. N.*, II, p. 358; *T.*, III, pp. 423-4.
[7] *A. N.*, II, p. 358; *T.*, III, pp. 423-4; *M.*, 168a-b; *Ma'āṭhir*, I, pp. 390-1.

Causes of the Afghān loss of Northern India :

It is surprising that the Afghāns, who had long been settled in India and had the vast resources of the country at their disposal, suffered repeated defeat and lost the sovereignty to the Mughals. What did account for this setback of the Afghāns?

Sher Shāh would often say to his people, "The Afghāns are not inferior to the Mughals in valour and courage ; but they lost the sovereignty of Hindustan on account of their discord and dissension."[1] Of course, Sher Shāh's statement refers to the loss of Afghān sovereignty in 1526. This analysis of the cause, however, applies equally well to the loss of Afghān sovereignty in 1556. The primary cause of their great disaster on both the occasions was the same, the factious spirit, discord and dissension of the Afghāns. In translating Firishta, Alexander Dow maintains the same view.[2] On the eve of both the occasions, there had been factious fight and civil war among the Afghāns and this prevented them from presenting an united front to the enemy.

Faction was inherent in the nature of the Afghāns and their loss of the sultanate in 1526 and again in 1556, owing to that spirit, proves that the empire was not for such a tribal people.

It is generally believed that Islām's Shāh's autocracy engendered faction of the Afghāns and prepared conditions for the fall of the Afghān sultanate. In fact, Islām Shāh wanted to destroy the idea of the tribal independence of the Afghāns and consolidate the sultanate. Had he lived longer and been succeeded by a strong

1 'Abbās, BM., 20b.

2 Dow - *Firishta*, II, p. 113.

and energetic ruler like himself, the Afghān sultanate would have emerged consolidated and stronger. But he had a very short reign and was succeeded first by a minor and then by a weakling. It was really the incapacity of 'Ādil that destroyed the labours of Islām Shāh and caused the fall of the Afghān sultanate in Northern India.

The Afghān army, which was the pride of Sher Shāh and the prop of Islām Shāh, lost its morale at the time of 'Ādil. They behaved like a mob in the field of battle and, caring little for discipline, they would often give themselves to plunder before they had actually won the victory. On several occasions, the Afghāns failed to clinch their victory on account of their mobbish behaviour in the battle.[1] Though Bahāunī says that ten Mughals could meet thousand of the Afghāns,t[2] here are evidences which however show that the Mughals won victory not because of their superiority in courage, but because of the indiscipline of the Afghāns in the field.

According to the contemporary Persian historians, Hemu's elevation to the supreme position in the sultanate and his usurpation of sovereign power were responsible for the fall of the Afghān sultanate. Badāunī and Ni'mat Allāh say that the Afghāns were so much dissatisfied with Hemu that they prayed for his fall and even welcomed a vicissitude against themselves in the battle of Panipat.[3] It has been discussed before that Hemu was neither insolent towards the Afghāns nor did he usurp the sovereign power.[4] The raising of a Hindu to supreme position in the sultanate was itself enough to dis-

[1] *Idem*, pp. 136-38.

[2] *B.*, I, p. 459.

[3] *B.*, II, p. 15; *M.*, 166a.

[4] *Idem*, pp. 119 and 129-30.

satisfy the Afghāns. Hemu, however, sought to satisfy them by his attention and concern for them.[1] He also gave them rewards.[2] The success of Hemu in various campaigns against the rebels and Mughals shows that, in spite of his being a Hindu, he inspired the confidence of the Afghan soldiers. The fact that he was able to command 30,000 horsemen in the battle of Panipat bears out that he still had the confidence of the Afghāns.

The defeat of the Afghāns at Panipat was not due to the dissatisfaction of the Afghāns with Hemu's leadership. It was rather the absence of his leadership which dispirited them. As an arrow disabled Hemu and his elephant left the field with him, the Afghāns were seized with panic, thinking that their great leader was dead. There was none to give lead to the Afghāns at that time. So these frightened Afghāns fled from the battle as they could.

In spite of their long association with India, the Afghāns failed to enlist the support and the sympathy of the subject people. The fact that several inhabitants of Delhi and Agra informed Humāyun of Islām Shāh's death and of the dissension of the Afghāns and they invited him to India,[3] expresses the feeling of dissatisfaction of the subject people towards the ruling Afghāns and their admiration for the expelled Mughals. It shows that they did not succeed in improving their position in the eyes of the other section of Indian population, who still regarded them as a strange people in the middle of the sixteenth century as they had done in the beginning of the reign of Bahlūl Lodī.[4]

1 *Idem*, p. 119.
2 *Idem*, p. 132.
3 *A. N.*, I, p. 336: *F.*, I, p. 456; De Laet, 139.
4 *Idem*, p. 38.

The civil wars of the Afghāns did great harm to the people at large. From 1553 to 1556, there was continuous fighting from the Panjab to Bengal. This certainly caused great injury to agriculture, trade and industry. Badāunī says that in 1555 a great famine raged in the territories from Delhi to Agra and Biana. People died in their thousands and men ate man.[1] The damage to corn-fields and the severe famine undoubtedly aggravated the discontent of the people against the Afghān regime. In the circumstances, they did everything in their power to undermine such a rule.

As the two important regions, Kabul-Panjab and Bengal, remained outside, the Afghān sultanate of Northern India lost the sources of its strength. The province of Kabul and the north-west frontier area were the recruiting ground of the Afghāns. As Kabul was in the hands of Humāyun and the Gakkars in the frontier were friendly to him, the Afghān chiefs experienced great difficulty in recruiting fresh soldiers. Humāyun's conquest of the Panjab in 1555 completely severed the Afghān-land from the Afghāns of India.

Bengal was another source of strength to the Afghān sultanate. Its wealth and resources helped the establishment of the Sūr Afghān sultanate. So, Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh maintained their hold tight on Bengal. With 'Ādil's accession, it became independent under its governor Muḥammad Khān Sūr. Though it remained under an Afghān chief, it however proved a source of trouble and weakness to the sultanate of Northern India, because Muḥammad Khān Sūr and his successor Bahādur Khān Sūr contested the sovereignty of Northern India with 'Ādil. This also lessened the strength of the Afghāns and paved the way for the loss of their hegemony in Northern India.

[1] *B.*, I, p. 430.

CHAPTER VI

SOME ASPECTS OF CULTURE OF THE SUR AFGHĀN PERIOD

THE Sūr Afghān rule occupies a significant position in certain aspects of the cultural life of the people. In this period a notable progress was made in Arabic and Persian learning. It witnessed a momentous development of the Hindi language and literature. Substantial contributions were made in Indo-Muslim music and architecture. The period is particulatly memorable for the growth of two religio-cultural movements, the *Mahdism* and the *Bhakti* cult, which left far-reaching effects on the society of the time.

Arabic and Persian : The outstanding figure of the period in Arabic, Persian and Islamic learning was Maulānā 'Abd Allāh Sulṭanpūrī, the ṣadr-i-ṣudūr and the Shaikh-al-Islām of the Sūr Sulṭāns. Mullā 'Abd al-Qadīr Badāunī abhorred the bigotry of the Maulānā ; he however highly appreciated his literary and intellectual attainments. He says that the Maulānā was one of the vastly learned men of the age and was incomparable especially in the knowledge of the *Qur'ān* and the *Ḥadīṭh*, theology and law. He compiled several works of which *Ismat-i-Ambiyā'* and *Shamali Nabī* were considered the best of his compositions.[1] The Maulānā exercised tremendous influence on the state and society of his time. His influence declined in the later part of Emperor Akbar's reign.

Mir Saiyid Rafi al-Dīn, Mullā Jalāl Bhim Dānishmand,

1. *Badāunī*, III, p. 70.

Shaikh Mubārak and Shaikh Budh Ṭalib Dānishmand were some of the celebrated learned men of the Sūr period. Shaikh Mubārak is the illustrious father of the great scholar and historian Abūl Faḍl. Badāunī says that Shaikh Budh Ṭalib Dānishmand was distinguished for learning and piety and Sher Shāh had so much respect for him that he often helped the Shaikh in putting on his shoes.[1]

The *Mahdavī* teacher Shaikh 'Alāi's father Ḥasan and uncle Shaikh Naṣr Allāh were noted for their learning. Originally from Bengal, they settled in Biana and devoted themselves to teaching and preaching.[2] Shaikh 'Alāi excelled in Islamic learning and he defeated in religious debate all the celebrated scholars of the time including Maulānā 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī, Shaikh Rafi al-Dīn and Mullā Jalāl Dānishmand.[3]

Some talented Persian poets flourished in the Sūr court. Mīr Saiyid Ni'ma, Shaikh 'Abd al-Ḥai, son of Jamālī Kambūwī Delhawī, Haitī, Saifī and Shāh Muḥammad Farmulī earned fame in versification and learning.[4] Tāj Khān Karranī and Sulaimān Karranī were reputed for their learning and wisdom.[5] Himself a poet of no mean order, Islām Shāh extended liberal patronage to poets and men of letters. The literary activities that began in this period developed into a great intellectual movement in the time of the Mughals.

Hindi : The Hindi language and literature made unprecedented progress in the Sūr Afghān period. The Sūr Afghāns were keenly interested in the promotion of Hindi and they

1 *Badāunī*, I. pp. 400-403.

2 *Badāunī*, I, p. 395.

3 *Badāunī*, I, p. 401.

4 Badāunī, I, pp. 410 and 415; *Afsān-i.Shāhān*, f. 154a.

5 *Badāunī*, I, p. 409.

advanced it in every conceivable way. They were the first to accord it a status of dignity in the state and society. The coins of the Sūr Afghāns bear their names in both the Persian and Hindi scripts. This practice continued down to the Karranī rule in Bengal.[1] They also appointed the Hindi as well as the Persian news-writers in every *pargana* and each division of the army.[2] Thus extending a court recognition to the hitherto-neglected Hindi, the Sūr rulers stimulated its development. In spite of all his love for Hindi, even Emperor Akbar did not give such a respectable position to this local language.

The Afghāns also spoke in the local dialect Hindi,[3] although they maintained Persian as the state language. Even after the loss of sovereignty in Northern India and Bengal, the Afghāns carried with them the Hindi language in the remotest part of the country, Sylhet. Dr. Suniti Kumar thinks that the Hindi *Deva Nagari* script found in Sylhet was taken there by the Muslim saints, Shāh Jalāl and his companions. But this seems improbable, because neither Hindi was so developed at that time nor did these saints belong to the Hindi-speaking area. Most probably the Afghāns, who had long been speaking this language, carried it with them there from Northern India.[4]

These illustrate how deeply the Afghāns identified themselves with the men of the soil and how greatly they felt for the common cultural institutions. They considered the Hindi language as much of theirs as of the local people, the Hindus

1 See the coins of the Afghān Sulṭāns

2 See. Islām Shāh's administration.

3 *Badāunī*, I, p. 390.

افغانان بزبان هندی هزلی میکردند

4 See Bengali Literary Review, November 1959, p. 23.

and the Muslims. The Afghān rulers felt the necessity of identifying themselves with local interests and of developing the common cultural institutions on political grounds as well. They wanted to enlist the support of the people in general against their great rivals, the Mughals. So they followed a policy of understanding and co-operation with the people of the land. This policy is reflected in the emergence of a common cultural tradition in the Hindi literature, in the new type of architecture and in the Indo-Muslim music. In the appointment of Hindus, such as Barmazid Gur, Todar Mal, Hemu and others, to responsible offices in the state and also in the patronage to Hindu intellect by these Afghān rulers the same policy of understanding and harmony has been expressed.

The Afghān rulers extended liberal patronage to the Hindi poets and scholars. Shāh Muḥammad Farmulī, a noble of Islām Shāh, composed excellent verses in Hindi. Mīrzā Kāmrān observed that, if Shāh Muḥammad wrote in Persian, he could have gained international fame.[1] Bāz Bahādur and his beloved songstress Rupmati poured their hearts by composing love-songs which have immortalised them in Hindi literature. These were collected by Aḥmad al-Unrei and is now available in Crump's rendering published under the title *Lady of the Lotus*. He also composed many other songs, the most remarkable of which were those written in commemoration of the delights of the spring festival and of the infatuation of the *gopis* of Vrindaban for the melodious reed-pipe (*bansi*) of Krishna. Islām Shāh patronised the gifted Hindi poets and musicians, Mahapatr, Ramdas,[2] and Sur Das.[3] Badāunī says that Mahapatr was without a

[1] *Afsān-i-Shāhān*, f, 146a.

[2] *Badāunī*, II, p. 42; *Ā'īn* (Blochmann), I, p. 680n, and 681n

[3] *Afsān-i-Shāhān*, f. 154a.

rival in the science of music and Hindi poetry.[1]

The Sūr Afghān period was the age of great Hindi poets, Malik Muḥammad Jaisī, Sur Das, Haridas and Tulsidas. Jaisī, the oldest vernacular poet, composed his famous work *Padmavat* in the Sūr reign (1540). His *Padmavat* and another work *Akhrawat*, written in native *Awadhi*, rank among the classics in elegance, imagery and style. In the *Padmavat* the poet has given a fanciful story of the Simhalese princess Padmini's marriage with Ratansen, the Rana of Chitore, Sulṭan 'Alā al-Dīn Khaljī's capture of Chitore and Ratansen, his desire to have the hands of beautiful Padmini, her dramatic consent to visit the Sulṭan's camp and finally her success in liberating Ratansen from prison by a clever device. Though fanciful, the *Padmavat* is however a master-piece of the Hindi literature. It reveals Jaisī as a mystic. Indeed he was a mystic of the *Chishtia* Sufistic order. The *Padmavat* has been versified into Bengali by poet Alaol.

The *Bhakti* movement of the time made significant contribution to the development of the Hindi language. The *Bhagats* (followers of the *Bhakti* cult) raised the *Braaja bhasa*, the spoken dialect of Mathura and the adjoining territories, to the status of a literary language. They composed songs and music in praise of their love-god and in preaching the *Bhakti* cult. Swami Haridas (1485-1575) made remarkable contribution in this field. The eight disciples of Goswami Vallabhacharya (1487—1530), known as *Asht-Chhap*, werealso notable poets of the *Braja bhasa* Hindi.[2] The greatest poet of this language was however Sur Das (1483—1563), a blind *Bhagat* and disciple of Vallabhacharya. Sur Das flourished

[1] *Badāunī*, II, p. 76.

[2] K. B. Jandal—*History of Hindi literature*, p. 101.

under the court patronage of Islām Shāh.[1] He has earned undying fame for his poetical work *Sursagar Sahityalahari*, composed in 1550. It is a Hindi versification in Persian script of the *Bhagavata Purana* and contains 125,000 verses.[2]

The celebrated Hindi poet Tulsidas (1532—1623/1627), the author of *Rama-charita-manas*, began his poetical career in the fostering atmosphere of the Sūr Afghān rule. There were many other Hindi poets of lesser renown. Rizq Allāh Mushtāqī, the author of *Wāqiāt-i-Mushtāqī*, composed fine poems under the pen-name Rajan.[3] Vithalnath was a prose-writer, who wrote *Sringar Rasa Mandana*.

Music : The Sūr Afghān period witnessed an unprecedented progress in Indo-Muslim music. The great interest of the Sūr rulers and the stimulus of the *Bhakti* movement accounted for its unusual development. The *Bhagat* musician Sur Das flourished at the court of Islām Shāh. Abūl Faḍl mentions him in the list of Akbar's court musicians and speaks of his musical accomplishments in glowing terms.[4] Ramdas was another reputed musician of the court of Islām Shāh.[5] According to Badāunī, Mahapatr was unparallelled in music. Swami Haridas was one of the celebrated musicians of the age. He was a preceptor of the great musician Tansen. Emperor Akbar would often visit him accompanied by Tansen and listened to his music. It is said, Miyān Tansen would first begin wrongly singing a song, at Akbar's beckon, whereupon the protesting Swamiji would reproduce the correct

1 *Afsān-i-Shāhān*, f. 154a.

2 Jandal - *History of Hindi Literature*. p. 101,

3 See Dr. Halim's paper on Hindi in Proceedings of Pakistan Ḥistorical Conference 1955. p. 188.

4 *Ā'īn* (Blochmann), I, p. 681.

5 *Badāunī*, II, p. 76.

version by singing it over again.[1]

According to Badāunī, Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh Sūr was one of the master-musicians of the age and Bāz Bahādur and Miyān Tansen were his disciples. He was so adept in the use of musical instruments that he could play with a *pakhwāz* (drum) of the size of a man both with his hands and feet. His performance took the great musicians by surprise.[2] 'Ādil Shāh had so much love for music that he appointed a *Bhagat* boy as a commander of 5,000 for his musical talent. Bāz Bahādur was a gifted musician and he gave liberal patronage to musicians and songstresses. The Mughal historians have highly praised the musical and dancing accomplishment of this king of Malwa. He is credited with the introduction of a style of singing known as *Bāz Khānī*. Besides singing in *Dhrupad*, he improvised melodies (*tan*) and sang in *Khiyāl* style also. He was an expert dancer who danced in the company of his female dancing troupe about nine hundred in number, shining like pearls, imagining himself as a Krishna dancing with the *gopis* in the Virindaban.[3]

Under Islām Shāh and 'Ādil Shāh , their capital Gwalior developed into a great music centre. A large number of distinguished musicians flourished there and most of the musicians of Akbar's court, 15 out of 36, were drawn from Gwalior. This speaks of the great legacy of the Sūr Afghāns to the Mughals in music.

Architecture : Remarkable was the achievement of the Sūr Afghāns in art and architecture. They built a large number of palaces, mosques and forts in Delhi, Gwalior, Agra, Chunar and other places of the empire . The British Gov-

[1] See Dr. Halim's Paper, Proc. Pak. Hist. Conf. 1955, p. 185.

[2] *Badāunī*, I, pp. 416 and 423.

[3] See Dr. Halim's Paper on Baz Bahadur, Pak. Hist. Conf. 1961

ernment pulled down most of these buildings as useless, except the mosques and tombs.[1] The fort of Rohtas and the five forts at Mankot built by Islām Shāh excited the wonder and admiration of the contemporaries, including the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr.[2] Islām Shāh built a fort and palace on an island in the Jumna to which Shāh Jahān afterwards added a palace in New Delhi.[3]

The tomb of Sher Shāh at Sahsaram is one of the best specimens of architecture. Here were buried Sher Shāh and some of his favourite companions in arms. It is supposed that Sher Shāh began the construction of this tomb and Islām Shāh finished the work of his father. In design, grandeur and beauty, it is considered as an unique piece of art and architecture in India.

In the citadel of Agra there stands a fragment of a palace built by Sher Shāh or Islām Shah which was as exquisite a piece of decorative art as anything of its kind in India. The *Purāna Qila* at Delhi, and the mosque in that fort built by Sher Shāh is exquisitely beautiful in design and ornamentation and is a noble specimen of the Afghān art in India. The Afghān architecture elicited the high appreciation of the experts and it has been observed of them, "They built like giants and finished like goldsmiths."[4] The stones used are of the enormous size and the details are of the most exquisite finish.

A significant characteristic of the Afghān architecture is its vigorous masculine form representing the true Afghān character and personality. Another striking feature is its assimilation of the Indian technique of art, so that it

[1] Fergusson—*Muslim Art*, 572.

[2] *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*·(Urdu Tr), p. 122.

[3] Fergusson.—**Muslim Art p. 572.**

[4] Fergusson—*Muslim Art*, p. 572.

produced a type of architecture in which Hindu and Muslim mind met together on a common cultural platform.

Mahdavīsm :

The Afghān period saw a religious movement which is known as *Mahdavīsm*. Although primarily a religious movement, *Mahdavīsm* had also great political, social and cultural significance in the history of the sixteenth century India. It introduced new ideas and forces in the country which had far-reaching effects on the society and state.

Mahdī means a divinely guided one.[1] *Mahdīsm* is connected with the Shi'te idea of the re-appearance of the hidden *Imām* for the establishment of an ideal state of affairs in the world. It is the equivalent in Islām of the Christian conception of the coming of a *messiah*. In India the Shi'te idea was influenced by the Aryan conception of the appearance of a deliverer after a cycle of one thousand of years. In course of time, the Shi'te and Aryan ideas mingled together to form a common belief of the Indian Muslims that the *Mahdī* would come to the world after a thousand years to restore the wilting faith of Islam to its pristine freshness. According to a saying of the Prophet Muḥammad, the later days of Islām would be marked by a general decadence in political power and in morals which, on reaching its climax, would be followed by the appearance of *Mahdī*, the lord of the times. Christ would also appear and after all men had been led through him to Islam, the day of judgment would commence.[2]

Towards the close of the first millennium of Islām, the *Mahdavīte* ideas assumed peculiar importance and the learned everywhere contemplated the question till at last the

1 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, III, p. 111.
2 Blochmann—*Ā'īn*, I, p, iii; Titus—*Indian Islam*, 106-7.

movement assumed a definite form through the teaching of Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad (1443-1504), a son of Mīr Saiyid Khān of Jaunpur. A descendant of the Prophet and a great saint of the time, Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad, who saw in the fall of Jaunpur a decadence of political power, claimed to be a *Mahdī*.[1] He gained many adherents, but the persecution of the 'ulema forced him to flee from Jaunpur to Gujrat and thence to make a pilgrimage to Makkah. He died at Farrah in Baluchistan on his way back to India.[2] According to *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī*, Saiyid Mnḥammad was killed by the enemies of his ideas.[3]

Saiyid Muḥammad, the *Mahdī*, died, but his ideas survived in his disciple Miyān 'Abd Allāh, a Niyāzī Afghān, and Shaikh 'Alāi, a son of a Bengali holy man Shaikh Ḥasan who had settled down in Biana. Their learning and, 'Alāi's persuasive eloquence in particular, attracted many persons to their ideas. Abandoning their homes, they gave themselves entirely to devotion and prayer. They held daily religious meetings and said the five times prayers in congregation. They also divided among themselves equally food or anything they received from others. Wherever they went they appeared armed to the teeth.[3] The *Mahdavīs* interferred in local affairs inspecting the *bazārs* and removing forcibly all articles forbidden in religion. They would warn anyone whom they found doing anything contrary to the Holy law. If they found him doing the same thing again, they would punish him and even kill him. The local officers, many of them being *Mahdavīs*, connived at their activities and those, who did not

1 Jarret and Sarkar—*Ā'īn*, III, 415; *B.*, I, p. 319; Blochmann- *Ā'īn*, I, iii-iv.

2 *B.*, I, p. 319.

3 *Mir'āt S.*, IIIa-2b; Fazlulla - *Mir'āt*, 90-I.,

4 *T.*, II, pp. 115-6: *B.*, I, p. 400; *F.*, I, p. 436.

approve of their conduct, were afraid of them.[1]

Mahdavīsm was essentially a revivalist movement in Islām and the *Mahdavīs* were much more than reformers as they wanted to bring back to the society the ideal days of the Prophet and the Pious Caliphs. They enjoined strict observances of the rites of religion and the injunctions of the *Qur'ān* and of the Prophet. According to their doctrine, a man is to be judged a Muslim by his deeds—prayer five times a day in congregation, fasting, observance of the lawful and avoidance of the prohibited things. A man, who was not punctilious in the performance of the formal rites of the faith, was to be punished, even by death. Khwās Khān became a disciple of Shaikh 'Alāi. But when he was asked to prohibit all forbidden things he gave up his association with *Mahdavīsm*.[2]

The *Mahdavī* teachers assumed to themselves the authority to issue authoritative orders and prohibitions controlling the Muslim society.[3] The persons disobeying their orders and prohibitions could be put to death by them without any reference to the ordinary court of law. The *Mahdavīs* also took to themselves the work of the censor of the morals and the power of the *qādī*, as it is evident from their activities in the localities.

The *Mahdavīs* believed in the community of property and did not favour the idea of private ownership. They maintained as their ideal the life of Abū Bakr and 'Umar who did not possess any private property. The community of property was, however, a new idea in Islām and a departure from the teaching of the Prophet, who allowed private

1 *T.* II., p. 116; *B* I., p. 401; *F.*, I, p. 436.
2 *Ibid.*, D. BM., 115a.
3 *B.*, III, p. 67.

property.

The most striking feature of the *Mahdavī* movement was its militancy. The *Mahdavīs* went armed and enforced their ideas on the people, caring little for the existing government.

The orthodox 'ulema denounced the *Mahdavīs* as heretics. First, the *Mahdī* idea originated the in Shī'ite faith which the Sunnīs abhorred. Secondly, by putting too much stress on the performance of the formal rites, the *Mahdavīs* rejected the works and teachings of the Four *Imāms*. Thirdly, they departed from the teaching of the Prophet by their belief in the community of property. Lastly, they challenged the position of the orthodox 'ulema in the Muslim society and at the court. They arrogated to themselves the authority to issue authoritative decrees and to control the religious, moral and social life of Muslims. The orthodox 'ulema had hitherto enjoyed this authority. Hence in the rise of the *Mahdavīs*, they saw a great threat to their pretensions not only as the religious leaders of the society but also as the confidants and advisers of the kings in religio-social and political affairs. It was, therefore, partly to preserve Sunnī Islām and partly to maintain their position in the Muslim society and at the royal courts that the 'ulema were determined to exterminate the *Mahdavīs*. Makhdum al-Mulk Mullā 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī, the ṣadr-i-ṣudūr in the Sūr court, led the opposition against them.

Islām Shāh seems to have sympathy for the revivalist *Mahdavī* movement. He too wanted to reform the society and, in particular to remove the influence of the 'ulema from the Muslim community and from the ruling circles. In common opposition to the ascendancy of the 'ulema, Islām Shāh and the *Mahdavīs* met on a common ground.

The activities of the Mahdavīs were brought to the notice of Islām Shāh after his accession and he summoned the *Mahdavī* teacher Shaikh 'Alāi to Agra. In audience, Shaikh 'Alāi made only the ordinary salutation permitted by the Islamic rules and this offended Islām Shāh. The 'ulema led by Mullā 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūri gave a *fatwa* declaring 'Alāi as a heretic and condemning him to death. Islām Shāh however, ignored the *fatwa* and offered 'Alāi the office of *muḥtasib* (the censor of morals) of the empire.[1] This shows that, notwithstanding 'Alāi's offensive behaviour, he appreciated his reforming zeal and wanted to make him an ally to his own idea of reform. But Shaikh 'Alāi could not be tempted by the offer of an official position.[2]

When the appeal of the orthodox 'ulema had failed on religious, they switched their arguments to political grounds alleging the danger to the empire from 'Alāi's messianic claims. About this time Bihar Khān Sarwānī, the governor of Hindia, accepted the *Mahdavī* doctrine with all his men. Mullā 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī reported the incident to Islām Shāh, emphasising that the *Mahdavīs* would create disturbance in the empire and that, by claiming to be a *Mahdī*, 'Alāī in effect desired to rule the world.[3] This time also Islām Shāh ignored the advice of the 'ulema.

One incident, however, favoured the orthodix 'ulema against the *Mahdavīs*. In 1549, Islām Shāh was proceeding to suppress the rebel Niyāzīs of the Panjab. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Biana, Mullā 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī drew his attention to Shaikh 'Abd Allāh Niyāzī, who roamed about in the hills of Biana with three to four hundred men and was known to have influence over the Niyāzīs.[4]

[1] and [2] *T.*, II, p. 117; *F.*, I, p. 437; *B.*, I, p. 402; *D.*, BM., 115a.

[3] *Ibid*, 117; *F.*, I, p. 437; *B.*, I, p. 403; D., 115b.

[4] *Ibid*, Blochmann *Ā'īn* I, viii; *B.*, III, pp. 45-6.

The activities of the *Mahdavīs*, such as their going armed everywhere and their defiance of the local officers, had made Islām Shāh suspect them as an enemy to the state. Still he tolerated them with the idea that they met him on a common ground, *i.e*, the overthrow of the orthodox 'ulema. But when he perceived the association of the militant *Mahdavīs* with the rebel Niyāzīs, he was convinced that the *Mahdavīs* were a threat to his empire. So, he ordered the *Mahdavī* teacher 'Abd Allāh Niyāzī to be whipped. Though 'Abd Allāh Niyāzī was whipped mercilessly, he survived death and, recanting *Mahdavīsm* he lived like a holy man in Sirhind.[1] Shaikh 'Alāi was similarly whipped. Already weak from an attack of plague, Shaikh Alāi could not stand whipping and he breathed his last at the third lash.[2]

Badāunī holds the orthodox Mullā 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī to be responsible for the death of Shaikh 'Alāi.[3] And indeed this Mullā, to ensure his position at court and society, had impressed upon Islām Shāh the necessity of executing Shaikh 'Alāi. When his appeal failed on religious, he switched his argument to political grounds. Once Islām Shāh perceived the association of the *Mahdavīs* with the rebel Niyāzīs, he was convinced and, for the reasons of state, he ordered the *Mahdavī* teachers to be punished.

The death of 'Alāi was a triumph for the orthodox 'ulema in the country. They hunted and persecuted the *Mahdavīs*. This continued some years even after Akbar's accession. So bitter was their persecution that Abūl Faḍl's father, Shaikh Mubārak, had to flee from place to place as he was suspected to be a *Mahdavī* on account of his association

1 *T.*, II, p. 117; *D.*, BM., 115b; *B.*, III, p. 45-6; Blochmann - *Ā'in*, I, p. viii.
2 *Ibid*, 118; *D.*, 116a; *F.*, I, p. 437.
3 *B.*, I, p. 408.

with Shaikh 'Alāi.[1]

The intolerance of the 'ulema, however, reacted against themselves. Emperor Akbar began to hate them. By his superior learning, Abūl Faḍl also beat them in religious debates and helped the Emperor in overthrowing their ascendancy at the court. Thus, the intellectual legacy left by the *Mahdavīs*, who were vastly learned men of the time, led to the fall of the orthodoxy at the court and ushered in a period of rationalism and liberalism which culminated in the reign of Emperor Akbar.

The revivalist movement of *Mahdavīsm* did not die out even after bitter persecution. It revived again towards the close of Akbar's reign in the person of Saiyid Aḥmad of Sirhind who is known as the *Mujaddid-i-Alfī Thānī* or the revivalist of a thousand years. Indeed the *Mahdī* tradition lingered in the nineteenth century when it was revived by Saiyid Aḥmad of Bareilly.

Bhakti movement : A noteworthy feature of the cultural life of the Afghān period was the spread of the *Bhakti* cult in the Hindu society. It began in the early fifteenth century with Ramananda and other *Vaishnava* teachers. They believed in love and adoration of one god, *Vishnu* as the way to salvation. They adored Rama or Krishna as the incarnation of *Vishnu*. The *Bhakti* movement of the Krishnite cult was started in Northern India by Goswami Vallabhacharya (1478—1530) of Vrindaban. In the Sūr Afghān period this love cult pervaded the Hindu society and became the most dominating force in the intellectual and cultural life of the country.

1 *B.*, III, 72; Blochmann - *Ā'īn* I, p.p. vii-x.

The mission of Goswami Vallabhacharya of preaching and spreading the *Bhakti* cult was carried on by his worthy disciples, Krishnadas, Payahari, Sur Das, Parmananda Das Kumbhandas and Vithaldas. Vithal Das was the son and successor of Vallabhacharya as a *guru* of the Krishnite cult of the *Vaishnavas*.[1] He had also many disciples, who devoted themselves to the cause of this new faith. As a result of their activities, this religious movement spread in every nook and corner of Northern India. The eight distinguished disciples of Vallabhacharya and Vithaldas were collectively known as *Asht Chhap.* In Bengal the disciples of Sri-Chaitanya carried forward the *Gauriya Vaishnavism* founded by that great Bengali teacher.

By advocating love to one god and offering the lower caste Hindus the right to spiritual advancement, the *Bhakti* movement aimed at simplifying and liberalising the reactionary Hindu society. Although the teachers of this movement did not oppose caste as social institution, regulating marriage and social intercourse in general, they however did much to reduce the rigidity of the Hindu caste system and religious institutions. It was the *Gauriya Vaishnavism* of Sri-Chaitanya that preached against all caste and social distinctions of the Hindu society and wanted to introduce a democratic society of the Hindus on the ideal of the Muslim society. The *Bhakti* movement made notable contribution to the development of the Hindi language and literature.

1 K.B. Jandal - *History of Hindi Literature*, p. 101.

CHAPTER VII

THE AFGHĀN SULTANATE IN EASTERN INDIA AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE MUGHALS

Even after the loss of Northern India, the Afghāns possessed Eastern India, which, in his great political wisdom, Sher Shāh had made his early seat of power and the stronghold of the Afghāns. From the beginning of his reign Emperor Akbar resolved to expel them from Bihar and Bengal. But he could not do so, until the powerful Afghān ruler Sulaimān Karranī had died in 1572 A. D.

The infiltration of the Afghāns into Bengal began in the fifteenth century when they came as mercenaries of its independent sulṭāns. The Ḥabshī Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Muẓaffar Shāh (1491-94) had a few thousand Afghān soldiers in his army.[1] There were some Afghān officers[2] and a body of Afghān soldiers[3] in the service of ʻAlā al-Dīn Ḥūsain Shāh (1498-1517), the founder of the Saiyid Dynasty in Bengal. The battle of Panipat in 1526 made a few Afghāns, including Ibrāhīm Lodī's brother Maḥmūd Lodī and some members of his family, flee to Bengal. The Saiyid Sulṭān Naṣrat Shāh (1517-32) gave *parganas* and towns for their maintenance and married a daughter of Ibrāhīm Lodī.[4] Thus the Afghāns obtained shelter in Bengal, which was destined to be their seat of power and home from 1539 to 1576. The conciliatory policy of Bābur and Humāyun left the

1 *Riyāḍ*, 128.

2 *Ibid*, 133.

3 *Ibid*, 134.

4 *Shāhī*, 99; *F.*, II, 587.

Lohānī and Sūr Afghāns undisturbed in Bihar.[1]

Sher Shāh's sultanate in Eastern India:

A wise and a far-sighted politician, Sher Shāh saw the importance of Bengal and decided to make it, with its proverbial wealth as a support and equally proverbial bad climate as a barrier, the citadel of the last Afghān power in India. Indeed Bengal was fabulously rich. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Bengal in 1346, spoke in glowing terms of the general prosperity of the country.[2] In his *Memoirs*, Bābur also wrote: "To amass treasure, the Bengalis regard as a glorious distinction and it is considered as a disgraceful fault in a ruler to spend and consume the treasure of his predecessors."[3] The writings of the Mughal historians also disclose that, in the sixteenth century, Bengal possessed enormous riches.[4]

Besides its wealth, Bengal also possessed a notoriously bad climate on account of its swamps and marshes. Hence, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says: "The men coming from Khurasan called it *dūzakh-i-pūrni'mat* or the hell of all good things."[5] Owing to its bad climate, the Mughal officers did not want to serve in Bengal. While leaving Gaur in 1538, Humāyun wanted to appoint one of his nobles, Zahīd Beg, as its governor. Zahīd Beg said: "What ! could Your Majesty find no other place to kill me than in Bengal."[6] Even the Mughal soldiers

[1] See Chapter X pp. 235-37

[2] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa - *Tuḥfat-un-Nuzzār*, II, p. 179. Translated in N. K. Bhattasali's *Coins and Chronology of the independent sultans of Bengal*, 135.

[3] *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*, 483-4; *B. N.*, II, p. 483.

[4] *B.*, II, p. 269.

[5] Same as in 2.

[6] Jauhar, 30 and *A. N.* I, p. 157.

زاهد بیگ درمیان مجلس عرض کرد که جائی دیگر نبود که برکشتن میدهد که در بنگله نمایند -

grumbled at going to Bengal. So, Akbar increased by 100 per cent and 50 per cent respectively the pay of the soldiers serving in Bengal and Bihar.[1]

The bad climate together with the hundreds of streams, which glide over the water-logged soil, not only discouraged the soldiers of Northern India from coming to Bengal, but also afforded a great defence to the country. They had always helped Bengal in throwing off the yoke of the sultanate of Delhi and asserting its independence. Hence, Baranī writes that shrewd and well-informed men gave Bengal the name of *Bulghākpūr*, i.e., the city of strife.[2] Abūl Faḍl also expresses the same idea regarding Bengal. He writes: "The country of Bengal is a land where, owing to the climate's favouring the base, the dust of dissension is always rising. So, in old writings it was called *Bulghāk Khāna* or the house of strife."[3]

Realizing the importance of Bengal for its wealth and its climate, Sher Shāh, from the beginning of his career, made repeated attempts to conquer it and in 1538 succeeded in occupying its capital Gaur. The vast wealth he obtained in Gaur greatly strengthened his position against Humāyun and enabled him in 1539 to defeat the Mughals at Chausa. Ni'mat Allāh says that, for want of adequate transport, Sher Shāh could not carry the large treasures of Gaur to Rohtas until Jalāl Khān sent him the elephants, horses and camels which he had captured from the Mughal forces of Emperor

1 *A. N.*, III, p. 293.
2 Bāranī, p. 82:

دانایان و تجربه یافتگان لکهنوتی رابلغاکپور خواند ندی

3 *A. N.* III, p. 183:

که انرا از قدیم بلغاکخانه گویند

Humāyun by a surprise attack on them at Garhi.[1]

That Sher Shāh was keenly alive to the importance of Bengal is proved by the fact that in 1538 when Humāyun advanced towards Bihar, he offered to surrender Bihar and pay him ten lacs of rupees as tribute, if he was left in possession of Bengal.[2] Humāyun wanted to give him some places in Bihar and Jaunpur. But on no account did Sher Shāh consent to part with Bengal.[3]

Even after he had occupied the throne of Delhi, Sher Shāh attached the same importance to Bengal and maintained his hold tight on that country. In 1542 when Khiḍr Khān Turk showed signs of rebellion by marrying a daughter of the last Saiyid Sulṭān Maḥmūd III and sitting on the *Tūkī* (raised platform) in the manner of the kings, he left his urgent work of completing the construction of the fort of Rohtas in the Panjab and hastened towards Bengal. He imprisoned the rebelliously inclined governor and divided Bengal into several parts giving them to tribal chiefs as *jagirs*. To exercise a general supervision over the chiefs and to settle the disputes that might arise between them, Sher Shāh appointed Qādī 'Faḍilat, a man well-known for his learning and honesty, as the *amīn* (trustee) of the country.[4] Indeed Sher Shāh's vigilance maintained his hold on the whole of Bengal extending to the hills of Assam in the north-east and Chittagong in the south-east.[5]

Islām Shāh also attached great importance to the poss-

1 *M.*, 114a.

2 'Abbās, 10, 59a; Dorn, p. 111.

3 Jauhar, 25-6:

گفت که من پنج و شش سال محنت کشیده بنگال را بضرب شمشیر گرفته ام و اکثر لشکر من کشته شده پس ملک بنگاله کسی نمیدهم -

4 'Abbās, 10., 87b; BM., 57a; *T.*, II, p. 102.

5 A. Rahim—*Chittagong under the Pathan Rule in Bengal*, JASB., 1952. pp. 23-5.

ession of Bengal. In following the policy of centralising the sultanate, he appointed one of his relations and a very capable man, Muḥammad Khān Sūr, as governor of the province.[1] In 1546-48 Islām Shāh took prompt action in suppressing Sulaimān Khān, who aimed at the restoration of the Saiyid sultanate in Bengal.[2]

Independent Sūr Sultanate in Eastern India :

In 1553, on the murder of Islām Shāh's son and successor Fīrūz and the accession of 'Ādil, Muḥammad Khān Sūr, who was the supporter of the ousted family, declared himself as a sovereign ruler of Bengal and, assuming the title of Shams al-Ḍīn Muḥammad Shāh Ghāzī, he struck coins in his own name.[3] Seated on the throne, Muḥammad Shāh turned his eyes to Northern India and prepared to make a bid for the sultanate of Delhi.

With his eyes riveted to the north, Muḥammad Shāh neglected the east and in 1553 the Arakanese king, Meng Beng seized the opportunity to occupy Chittagong.[4] This renewed, after the lapse of a century and a half, the tripartite struggle among the rulers of Bengal, Tripura and Arakan for the possession of Chittagong.[5] Meng Beng could not long retain his hold on this port. In 1554 Bijaymanikya, the powerful king of Tripura (1540-71), dispossessed him of it. Tripura's hold on Chittagong, however, lasted only a few months. Rajmala, the family chronicle of the kings of

1 *B.*, I, p. 432; *T.*, II, p. 124; *Riyāḍ*, 148.

2 Idem, pp. 75-6.

3 *B.*, I, p. 430; *T.*, II, p. 124; *Riyāḍ*, 148; Wright—*Catalogue of the coins of the Indian Museum*, II, p. 180.

4 Phyare—*History of Burma*, 79-80.

5 A. Rahim—*Chittagong under the Pathan Rule in Bengal*, JASB., 1952, pp. 25-7.

Tripura, records its capture by the Afghān general Mubārak Khān.[1] The Arakan coin of Muḥammad Khān Sūr also shows that in 1554 he not only recovered Chittagong but also occupied Arakan.[2] The forces of Bijaymanikya fought eight months without success to recapture Chittagong. Digging holes under the walls of the fort at night, they, at last entered the fort and defeated the Afghāns in a surprise attack. They occupied Chittagong and, then taking the Afghān general of the city, Mubārak Khān, a captive to Rangamati, they slaughtered him as a sacrifice to their fourteen gods.[3] Engaged with 'Ādil in the north, Muḥammad Khān Sūr could not try for the recovery of Chittagong.

Aiming at the throne of Delhi, Muḥammad Khān Sūr had entered into a sharp rivalry with 'Ādil. In 1555 he occupied Bihar and Jaunpur and then advanced towards Agra. In December he fought a battle with 'Ādil's general Hemu at Chapparghata, 15 *kos* from Agra, but was defeated and killed.[4]

The chiefs of Muḥammad Khān Sūr retreated to a village named Jhusi, opposite to Allahabad, and raised his son Khiḍr Khān to the throne. Khiḍr Khān assumed the title of Ghiyāṭh al-Dīn Bahādur Shāh.[5] He then proceeded to recover Bengal, which was in the meantime occupied by 'Ādil. Bahādur Shāh fought a battle with 'Ādil's governor

[1] *Rajmala*, II, pp. 46-7.

[2] Lane Poole—*Catalogue of the Indian coins*, p. 56; Wright—*Catalogue of the coins of the Indian Museum*, II, p. 180.

[3] *Rajmala*, II, p. 47.

[4] Idem, p. 125.

[5] *B.*, I, p. 433; *Riyaḍ*, 149; Wright—*Catalogue of the coins of the Indian Museum*, II, p. 181.

of Bengal, Shāhbāz Khān, near Gaur. He defeated and killed him and entered his capital Gaur.[1]

Bahādur Shāh raised a large army and in 1557 advanced to revenge the death of his father. The rebel Tāj Khān Karranī and his brothers joined him.[2] In April, 1557 in a battle at Fathpur, four miles west of Surajgarh, their combined forces defeated and killed 'Ādil.[3] As a result of this victory, the whole of Bihar passed into the hands of Bahādur Shāh. Leaving Tāj Khān Karranī in charge of Bihar, he returned to Gaur.[4]

Master of Bengal and Bihar, Bahādur Shāh resolved to expel the Mughāls from Northern India and to recover the lost sovereignty of the Afghāns. In 1558 he advanced towards Jaunpur with 30,000 horses. In an engagement near Jaunpur, he routed an army of Khān Zamān, the Mughal viceroy of the eastern provinces. Thinking that they had won the victory, the Afghān soldiers gave themselves to plunder. While they were thus engaged, Khān Zamān made a surprise attack on them and dispersed them. Many of the Afghāns were either killed or captured and their baggage fell into the hands of the Mughāls.[5]

This defeat made Bahādur Shāh wiser. He understood that the Mughals had consolidated their position in Northern India and it was fruitless and waste of energy and resources to try to recover the lost territories of the Afghans from their hands. Henceforth Bahādur Shāh kept himself within his own territorial limits and maintained good relations with the Mughal viceroy at Jaunpur.

[1] *Riyāḍ*, 150.
[2] *R. T.*, 697a.
[3] *B.*, I, p. 433; *R. T.*, 697a.
[4] *R. T.*, 697a.
[5] *B.*, II, p. 25.

Bahādur Shāh died in 1560 and was succeeded by his brother Jalāl al-Dīn Sūr, who assumed the title of Ghiyāṭh al-Dīn Abūl Muẓaffar Jalāl Shāh.[1] It appears from a mosque inscription near Sherpur Murcha in Bogra district[2] that in 1553 in the reign of his father, Jalāl installed himself as an independent ruler in eastern Bengal. He, however, submitted to his father and was nominated a successor to the throne.

Jalāl Shāh followed a very pacific foreign policy. In his relations with the Mughals, he avoided provoking the powerful Emperor Akbar. So, he remained a passive spectator of the campaigns of the Afghāns of Chunar and Rohtas for the recovery of Northern India.

Jalāl Shāh died in 1563[3] and was succeeded by his son, whose name has not been mentioned by the contemporary historians. After a reign of seven months and nine days, he fell a victim to the hand of an usurper, who assumed the title of Ghiyāṭh al-Dīn. Ghiyaṭh al-Dīn reigned one year and eleven days. In 1564 he was killed by Tāj Khān, the founder of the Karranī sultanate in Bengal.[4]

THE KARRANĪ SULTANATE IN EASTERN INDIA

Tāj Khān Karranī, the founder :

The Karranī Afghāns, who had remained obscure in the Lodī sultanate, rose to great political importance in the period of the Sūr rule under their chiefs Tāj Khān Karranī and Sulaimān Khān Karranī. Tāj Khān's father Jamāl Khān played no significant role in the history of the Afghāns.

1 *Riyāḍ*, 150; Wright—*Catalogue of coins in Inlian Museum*, II, p. 181.
2 JASB., 1875, p. 275. Inscription is dated 960 H.
3 Wright—*Catalogue of coins in Indian Museum*, II, p. 181. The coin is dated 970 H.
4 *Riyād*, 152.

Nowhere there is any reference to Jamāl Khān Karranī except in an inscription which mentions him as the father of Tāj Khān.[1] Worthy sons of an obscure father, Tāj Khān and Sulaimān Khān were, however, destined to political greatness by virtue of their merit. The first mention of Tāj Khān and Sulaimān Khān is found in connection with the battle of Kanauj in which they fought as generals of Sher Shāh.[2] In recognition of their services, Sher Shāh gave them *jagirs* in Khwaspur Tanda and other places on the bank of the Ganges in South Bihar.[3] He especially favoured Tāj Khān for his intelligence and courage and made him a constant companion of his son Jalāl,[4] who, after his death in 1545, ascended the throne under the title of Islām Shāh.

In the reign of Islām Shāh, Tāj Khān became one of his principal nobles and confidential agents. He rendered very valuable and distinguished service to the cause of his royal master. In 1548, Tāj Khān defeated and killed the dangerous pretender Sulaimān Khān of *Bhati* and thus saved the eastern part of Islām Shāh's sultanate.[5] He also helped Islām Shāh in getting rid of Khwās Khān by treacherously murdering him. The contemporary historians condemn Tāj Khān for his base ingratitude to his benefactor Khwās Khān, because he owed his preferment to that great general of Sher Shāh.[6] Tāj Khān took to unscrupulous methods so as to induce Khwās Khān to come to his camp and then he murdered him in order to please his master.

[1] JBORS. IV, 188; Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1933-4, pp, 7-8.

[2] 'Abbās, E. IV, 381; *A. N.*, III, p. 164.

[3] *Riyāḍ*, 153; Stewart—*History of Bengal*, 147.

[4] *R. T.*, 696b.

[5] Idem, p. 76.

[6] *F.*, I, . p. 435, B., I. p. 409.

At the time of his death, Islām Shāh left his minor son Fīrūz to the care of Tāj Khān[1] and when Fīrūz ascended the throne Tāj Khān became his *wazīr* and the absolute authority in the sultanate. The jealousy of the other Afghān chiefs at his elevation obliged him to retire from that high office. After his retirement, it was easy for 'Ādil to kill the boy king Fīrūz and usurp the sultanate.[2]

On account of Tāj Khān's attachment to the family of Islām Shāh, 'Ādil could not trust him and resolved to ruin him. One day a certain person made an attempt on Tāj Khān's life at Gwalior. Tāj Khān suspected that the attempt on his life had been made at the instigation of 'Ādil. He also saw the rise of the factions among the Afghān chiefs of the new Sulṭān. So, he thought it wise to retire from his court, which he termed as the house of strife. In 1553 on the eve of 'Ādil's Gwalior *darbār*, Tāj Khān escaped from Gwalior and took the road to Bengal.[3]

On the news of Tāj Khān's flight, 'Ādil detached a large force in pursuit of him and himself followed it. At Chappramau, forty *kos* from Agra and thirty *kos* from Kanauj, Tāj Khān fought against the forces of 'Ādil. Being defeated, he fled towards Chunar. On the way, he won over a few revenue collectors of the crownlands and seized the treasure and 100 elephants belonging to the king. He then joined his brothers, Sulaimān, Ilyās and 'Imād Karranī in South Bihar.[4] A large number of the Afghāns entered his service and he became absolute in South Bihar[5]

'Ādil and Hemu advanced to suppress the Karranī

[1] *R. T.*, 696b; *Shāhī*, 272-4.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] and [4]. *T.*, II, pp. 121-2; *B.*, I, p. 420; *M.*, 168b.

[5] *M.*, 168b.

rebels. In 1554 in a battle near the Ganges, Hemu defeated them. [1] As 'Ādil had to divert his energies to suppress the pretender Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, the Karranīs, in spite of their defeat, remained master of South Bihar.

Tāj Khān had also to fight against Muḥammad Khān Sūr, the ruler of Bengal, who could not tolerate the independent existence of the Karranīs in South Bihar. Being placed between two powerful enemies, 'Ādil in the north and Muḥammad Khān Sūr in the east, Tāj Khān felt himself insecure in his possessions. So, he made peace with the new sultanate in Bengal[2] and helped its ruler against 'Ādil. In 1557, the Karranīs joined Bahādur Shāh in the battle of Surajgarh, in which 'Ādil was defeated and killed. After this battle, Bahādur Shāh left Tāj Khān in charge of the newly acquired province of Bihar.[3] An inscription dated 1559 refers to Bahādur Shāh as the overlord of Tāj Khān. It also mentions Tāj Khān bearing the title of *Masnad-i-'Alī*.[4] It suggests that Tāj Khān received the title from Bahādur Shāh and he recognised the vassalage of the Sūr Afghān Sulṭān of Bengal at least upto the year 1559 A. D.

Towards the close of Bahadur Shāh's reign, Tāj Khān showed signs of insubordination and hence he was recalled to Gaur. The Karranī chief, however, ignored the summons of his overlord and, contracting friendship with the Mughal viceroy Khān Zamān, strengthened his position and sent his brother Sulaimān Karranī with an army to invade Bengal.

1 *R. T.*, 697a.

2 *A. N.*, II, p. 325. Abūl Faḍl says that Tāj Khān and his brothers were sometimes at strife and sometimes on friendly relations with the Sūr sulṭāns of Bengal.

3 *R. T.*, 697a.

4 JBORS, IV, 188; Epigraphia Indo-Molsemica, 1933-4, pp. 7-8.

Bahādur Shāh raised a large force to fight against the Karranīs. But before the battle began, he had fallen ill and died.[1] His brother Jalāl Shāh made peace with Tāj Khān and averted the Karranī invasion. Jalāl maintained friendly relations with Tāj Khān Karranī.[2]

The civil strife that began after the death of Jalāl Shāh in 1563 and the troubles caused by the usurpation of an *amīr*, who is styled as Ghiyāṭh al-Dīn III, gave Tāj Khān an opportunity to make a bid for the throne of Bengal. In 1564, he defeated and killed Ghiyāṭh al-Dīn and occupied Gaur.[3] This introduced the Karranī sultanate in Bengal and Bihar.

Tāj Khān's relations with the Mughals :

Taj Khān Karranī maintained friendly relations with Khān Zamān, the Mughal viceroy at Jaunpur. Indeed he was a shrewd politician. He realized that if he was to hold his position in Bihar and conquer Bengal, he must have good relations with the Mughal power. Emperor Akbar was bent on conquering Bihar and Bengal. Bahādur Shāh Sūr also was not inclined to tolerate the independent attitude of Tāj Khān in Bihar. So, Tāj Khān was between two fires and it stands to his credit that, by his diplomacy, he not only preserved his position but also acquired the throne of Bengal.

Considering an alliance with the Karranīs of Bihar to be useful to him, Khān Zamān, who thought of rebelling against the Emperor, responded to Tāj Khān's gesture of friendship. As a mark of his friendship, Tāj Khān made occasional presents to the viceroy.[4] In 1559, he sent Khān Zamān the pre-

1 *R. T.*, 697a.

2 *A. N.*, II, p. 325.

3 *R. T.* 697a.

4 *A. N.*, II, p. 325; Biyāt, 100a.

sent of a few elephants and the pieces of some *muslin* (Bengali fine cloth).[1]

In 1562 when Akbar reappointed Khān Zamān to the viceroyalty of Jaunpur, in a *farmān* he promised to assign to him the country of Bengal, if the latter could conquer it from the Afghāns. Bāyazīd Biyāt says that Khān Zamān could easily conquer Bengal and really he conquered it, but he gave it to Tāj Khān.[2] Indeed, in view of the enmity between the Sūr Afghāns and the Karranī Afghāns and the civil strife at Gaur, it would not have been dfficult for the veteran Mughal general, Khān Zaman to conquer Bihar and Bengal. But he did not wish for the expansion of Akbar's empire. He was planning to rebel against the Emperor and to establish an independent kingdom in Jaunpur. In his contemplated scheme, Khān Zamān counted on the Karranīs and hence he strengthened his friendship with Tāj Khān. So it is probable that he helped Tāj Khān in conquering Bengal from the Sūr Afghāns.

Tāj Khān Karranī could not long enjoy his newly-acquired position in Bengal. In 1565, a few months after his conquest of Bengal, he died.[3] All the contemporary historians have appreciated his ability, learning and wisdom.[4] Badāunī mentions him as the wisest and the most learned man of the Afghāns.[5]

[1] Biyāt, 100a.
او بنگاله را باسان ترین وجهی میگرفت بلکه او گرفته
بتاج خان داده بود -

[2] Ibid,

[3] *A. N.*, II, p. 325; *R. T.*, 697a.

[4] *R. T.*, 696b.

[5] *B.*, I, p. 409.

Sulaimān Karranī:

In 1565 after the death of Tāj Khān, his brother Sulaimān Karranī succeeded to the sultanate of Bengal and Bihar.[1] The accession of Sulaimān Karranī ushered in a brilliant period of Karranī rule in Eastern India. An able, tactful and wise ruler, Sulaimān Karranī gave vigour to the Afghān sultanate and made it a strong power in the country. Indeed it was the strength of his sultanate, which, at least for a generation, saved the position of the Afghāns in the face of the opposition of the powerful Emperor Akbar and also made for them a new home in Orissa.

Time and circumstances favoured Sulaimān Karranī in building a powerful sultanate. This was a time when the various branches of the Sūr family, which had fought each other and made unsuccessful attempts for the recovery of Northern India, had disappeared. The extinction of the Sūr family had left Sulaimān without a rival for the leadership of the Afghāns. The dispossessed and bewildered Afghāns flocked to his refuge and leadership[2] and strengthened his position in Eastern India. So, Abūl Faḍl says that the brainless Afghāns gathered round Sulaimān and he acquired strange power.[3] He also possessed a large army and immense riches.[4] He had a force of 3,600 elephants, 40,000 cavalry, 14,000 infantry and 20,000 pieces of cannon and several hundred war-boats.[5] The writings of De Laet also express that Sulaimān was a very powerful ruler of Eastern India.[6]

[1] *A. N.*, II, p. 325; *R. T.*, 697a.
[2] *D.*, BM., 126a; School, 162.
[3] *A. N.*, II, p. 325.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Stewart—*History of Bengal*, 152.
[6] De Laet, 14.

Sulaimān Karrānī was a just and pious ruler. A mosque inscription found in the town of Bihar calls him a second Solomon in justice and piety.[1] The contemporary historians also praise him for these qualities. They state that he strictly observed the rules of Islām in his private and public life.[2] Sulaimān Karrānī used to say his prayers every night in the company of 150 *shaikhs* and *'ulema* and he discussed with them religious matters till dawn when, after performing the morning prayer, he would attend to state affairs. Badāunī says that the news of Sulaimān Karranī's association with the *shaikhs* and *'ulema* inspired Emperor Akbar to build an *'ibadatkhāna* (house of worship) for the discussion of religious and philosophical matters with the learned.[3]

Though an orthodox Muslim, Sulaimān Karrānī followed the previous sulṭāns of Bengal in their liberal policy towards the Hindus. In order to win over the Hindus, he appointed them to higher offices in the government. In his reign, Ramananda Guha and his sons Bhabananda, Gunananda and Sibananda held important posts in the government.[4] Bhabananda and Gunananda rose even to the position of his ministers and Sibananda to that of the headship of the revenue department.[5] Bhabananda's son Srihari became the most intimate companion of Sulaimān Karranī's son Dāud. In the reign of Dāud, Srihari rose to the *wizārat* and obtained the lofty title of *Vikramaditya*.[6]

1 Blochmann—*History and Geography of Bengal*, JASB. 1875, p. 303.

2 *R. T.*, 697a; *M.*, 170b.; *B.*, II, pp. 200-1.

3 *B.*, II, pp. 200-1.

4 *Pratapaditya Charitra*, 4-9.

5 S. C. Mitra—*Jessore-Khulner Itihasha*, II p. 13.

6 *Pratapaditya Charitra*, 4-9.

Conquest of Orissa :

The conquest of Orissa is one of the important events of Sulaimān Karranī's reign in Bengal. He felt the necessity of launching a campaign against Orissa, because its king Mukunda Harichandana displayed a hostile attitude towards him. The Raja had given shelter to Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr. Sulaimān feared that he might help that Afghān pretender in conquering Bengal and thus cause serious trouble to him.[1] Even Emperor Akbar wanted to utilise Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr to destroy Sulaimān's power in Eastern India. He persuaded the Raja into an alliance with the Emperor and induced him to undertake a military expedition to Bengal, if Sulaimān Karranī helped the rebel viceroy Khān Zamān.[2] In view of Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr's presence in Orissa and the alliance of the Raja with the Emperor, Sulaimān Karranī could not feel himself secure in his possessions so long Orissa remained outside his dominions. So, to secure his position in Eastern India, he thought it expedient to remove a great source of danger by the conquest of that territory. Sulaimān also realized that, in view of the wealth and resources of Orissa, its acquisition would greatly strengthen his position against the ambitious designs of Emperor Akbar.

Sulaimān chose a very suitable time to invade Orissa. In 1567 when Emperor Akbar was busy in the conquest of Chitore, he sent an army to Orissa under his son Bāyazīd, Sikandar Uzbek, a deserter from the court of the Emperor, and Kālā Pahār, a converted Muslim[3] and a renowned general of the Karrānī ruler. After a fierce fighting the Afghāns occupied the whole of Orissa including Puri. Enormous spoils including gold fell into their hands. Ni'mat Allāh says that

1 *A. N.* II, pp, 334.5.
2 *Ibid*, 258.
3 *A. N.*, III, p. 610. Kālā Pahār's early name was Raju (*A. N.*, III, p. 23).

every Afghān, who took part in the campaign, obtained as booty one or two gold images. Kālā Pahār destroyed the temple of Jagannath in Puri which contained 700 idols made of gold, the biggest of which weighed 30 *mans*.[1] Sulaimān appointed his *wazīr* Lodī and Qatlū Lohānī as governors of Orissa and Puri respectively.[2]

Relations with Koch Bihar:

Immediately after the conquest of Orissa, Sulaimān had to fight a defensive battle with the neighbouring kingdom of Koch Bihar. Proud of his recent conquest of Kamtapur, Raja Biswa Singh invaded Bengal in 1568. Sulaimān, however, defeated the Koch army and captured its general Prince Sukladhwaja.

In retaliation, Sulaimān sent his general Kālā Pahār to invade Koch Bihar. The Afghān army overran the country as far as Tezpur up the Brahmaputra. They demolished the temples of Kamakhya, Hajo and other places and returned victorious. Sulaimān Karranī's object was simply to vindicate his strength. So, he did not annex the Koch territories. Moreover, as a gesture of amity to the Koch king, he released the Koch Prince from captivity.[3] In this friendly move towards Koch Bihar, Sulaimān Karranī was certainly actuated by his desire to secure the northern frontier of his territory in the event of a Mughal invasion of Bihar and Bengal.

[1] *M.*, 170a.

[2] *B.*, II, p. 174.

[3] Gait—*History of Assam*, 54. Salīm (*Riyāḍ*, 153) says that the Afghān army besieged Koch capital, but the news of the rebellion in Orissa made Sulaimān withdraw the siege. Abūl Faḍl (*A. N.*, III, p. 717) says that the Koch king did not pay his respects to the ruler of Bengal. So, Sulaimān made war upon him, but he returned without success.

Sulaimn's relations with Akbar;

In his relations with the Mughal empire, Sulaimān Karranī showed great political wisdom and sagacity. In this field, his policy was marked by threefold features. In order to placate the powerful Mughal Emperor Akbar, he made an outward show of submission to him by making occasional presents and reading the *khuṭba* and issuing coins in the name of the Emperor.[1] Secondly, Sulaimān followed the footsteps of his elder brother in keeping friendly relations with the Mughal viceroy of the eastern provinces. Indeed the maintenance of friendship with the Mughal viceroy in Jaunpur, on the border of Bihar, formed the cardinal principle in the foreign policy of the Karranī ruler. Lastly, while following an attitude of outward submission to Emperor Akbar, Sulaimān Karranī also pursued a policy of watchful opportunism by shrewdly using every opportunity to cause embarrassment to the Emperor.

According to most of the contemporary historians, Sulaimān Karranī made presents to Akbar and read the *khuṭba* and struck coins in the Emperor's name.[2] The Afghān historians Ni'mat Allāh and 'Abd Allāh, on the other hand, are of the opinion that Sulaimān Karranī established sovereign power in Bengal and Bihar.[3] In view of the absence of numismatic evidence, the statement of the Afghān historians cannot be accepted. No coin of Sulaimān Karranī has been found. The right of coinage was regarded as an essential insignia of the sovereign power. Sulaimān Karranī ruled for eight years (1565-72). If he issued coins, some of these would have ceratinly come to light. His son Dāud

[1] *A. N.*, III, pp. 19-20 and 69, *B.*, II, pp. 173-4; *T.*, II, p. 281; *R. T*,. 697a.

[2] *A. N.*, III, pp. 19-20 and 69; *R. T.*, 697a; *B.*, II, pp. 173-4; *T.*, II, p. 281.
[3] *M.*, 170a; *D.*, BM., 126a.

assumed sovereign power and, although he reigned only four years, a large number of his coins have been discovered.

Besides, Sulaimān did not assume the title of *Shāh* or *Sultān* as Dāud did after him. He took upon himself the title of '*Haḍrat-i-'Alī*' or His Exalted Highness. Both the Mughal and the Afghān historians agree on this point.[1] The title of *Haḍrat-i-'Alī* does not indicate that Sulaimān claimed sovereign power. This was a title first assumed by Sher Shāh in 1535 when, after his victory over the combined forces of the Bengali sulṭān Maḥmūd III and the Lohānī ruler Jalāl Khān at Surajgarh, he became the master of Bihar.[2] Though he became supreme in Bihar and assumed the title of *Haḍrat-i-'Alī*, Sher Shāh did not enter his name in the *khuṭba* and coins and he continued to recognise the *de jure* sovereignty of Humāyun. When Sher Khān's assumption of the title of *Haḍrat-i-'Alī* in 1535 was brought to the notice of Emperor Humāyun he took offence, thinking that the Afghān chief of Bihar had discarded his vassalage to him and had assumed sovereign power. But his ministers pointed out to him that the adoption of this title did not mean that Sher Khān had declared himself as an independent ruler. Indeed Sher Khān read the *khuṭba* and issued coins in the name of the Mughal Emperor even after the assumption of this title. It was only in 1539 after the battle of Chausa that he assumed the title of *Shāh* and claimed for himself sovereign power by issuing coins and reading the *khuṭba* in his own name. Sulaimān Karranī's assumption of *Haḍrat-i-'Alī* title suggests that he was a *de facto* ruler of Bengal just as Sher Shāh had been in the period, 1535-1539.

Moreover, the Afghān historians wrote long after

[1] *M.*, 170a; *D.*, 126a; *B.*, II, p. 163.

[2] 'Abbās, 10., 72a; BM., 47a.

Sulaimān Karranī had died. Being of the same race, they were carried away by their sentiment and enthusiasm for their ruler and wrote that he rose to sovereign power. Also there is no reason to disbelieve the evidence of the contemporary Mughal historians, particularly of Badāunī, who had nothing but praise for Sulaimān Karranī. It is a fact that the Mughal historians have informed that Bāyazīd and Dāud assumed the insignia of royalty. Had their father Sulaimān Karranī assumed sovereign power, there is no reason why they would not have mentioned it.

There are other considerations which favour the evidence of the Mughal historians. Sulaimān was a shrewd and prudent ruler. He aimed at preserving and strengthening his position, without giving an offence to the powerful Mughal Emperor. His assumption of *de jure* sovereignty would have thrown a direct challenge to him. Emperor Akbar, who already greatly distrusted the Afghāns and also aimed at installing himself as the paramount ruler over the whole of India, could not have tolerated the Karranī ruler's open assumption of royalty. So, Sulaimān had to be very cautious in his relations with the Mughal empire. Though he was *de facto* sovereign of Bengal and Bihar, he adopted the policy of placating the Emperor by owning lip homage to him. Abūl Faḍl saw through this diplomatic game of Sulaimān Karranī and called him a hypocrite, who, to secure his position, made an outward show of submission.[1] In fact, Sulaimān's hypocrisy was his statesmanship. It saved his position as well as the home of the Afghāns in Bengal and Bihar. It also

[1] *A. N.*, III, pp. 19-20 and 69.
از آنجا که عمل منافقانه داشت سررشتهٔ بندگی ظاهر را نمی گسیخت

enabled him to acquire Orissa and to strengthen his position. Moreover, it would have been difficult for Sulaimān Karranī to maintain friendship with the Mughal viceroys Khān Zamān and Khān Khanān, if he had assumed the insignia of sovereign power. Akbar would never have allowed his viceroys to contract friendship with his open enemies.

Forced to accept some practical limitations to his own power, Emperor Akbar had to be satisfied forthe time being with Sulaimān Karranī's show of submission. Indeed, from the very beginning of his reign, he wanted to expel the Afghāns from Bihar and Bengal. In 1557 when Sikandar Khān Sūr surrendered Mankot, Emperor Akbar resolved to clear Bengal of the Afghāns.[1] Again, in 1563 when he re-appointed Khān Zamān to the viceroyalty of Jaunpur, he had assured him in a *farmān* that he would confer on him the government of Bengal, if he could conquer it.[2] But Khān Zamān never showed any eagerness to conquer Bihar and Bengal from his friendly Afghān rulers. Besides, to the great embarrassment of Akbar, the viceroy showed signs of rebellion and in 1565 he actually rose against the Emperor. In 1567, Mīrzā Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother, also rebelled against the Emperor in Kabul adding to his difficulties and inability to grapple with the Bengal problem.

Moreover, Sulaimān Karranī was a powerful ruler. He had a large army and immense riches.[3] With his other troubles in the empire, Emperor Akbar could not have risked an expedition against him. So, he had to be satisfied with Sulaimān's lip service.

Himself a wise and prudent man, Sulaimān obtained the devoted services of a very wise *wazīr* whom Abūl Faḍl calls

[1] *B.*, II, pp. 18-19.
[2] *Biyāt*, 100a.
[3] Idem, p. 174.

as the rational spirit of the Afghāns.[1] Lodī had served Tāj Khān as his *wazīr*; Sulaimān retained the services of this wise and distinguished minister. Under the advice of Lodī, Sulaimān Karranī always maintained his brother's tradition of good relations with the Mughal viceroy on the western border of his territory by means of friendly communications and rich presents. It served Sulaimān twofold purposes. First, it secured his position against the impending Mughal invasion and afforded him an opportunity to conquer Orissa. Also it gave him an opportunity to cause embarrassment to Emperor Akbar in the interest of his own position.

In 1565, Khān Zamān rebelled in Jaunpur much to Emperor Akbar's embarrassment. The Emperor feared that as Sulaimān was friendly with the powerful viceroy, he might help him in his rebellion.[2] To prevent such a development of military combination, Emperor Akbar sent Ḥājī Muḥammad Sistānī as an envoy to the Afghān ruler of Bengal. True to the friendship with the viceroy, the Afghāns seized the envoy near the fort of Rohtas and made him over to Khān Zamān.[3] Akbar also sent another diplomatic mission led by Ḥasan Khān Khazānchī and Mahapatr, a man unrivalled in the art of Indian music and poetry, to the Raja of Orissa to persuade him to an agreement that if Sulaimān helped the rebel viceroy, he would invade Bihar and Bengal. The Raja received the envoys with honour and formed an alliance with the Emperor. He agreed to put forth Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, who was a refugee at his court, as a rival claimant for the throne of Bengal and Bihar and to fight for his cause against Sulaimān.[4]

1 *A. N.*, II, p. 326 and III, p. 20.
2 *A. N.*, II, p. 253.
3 *Ibid*, 253-4; *T.*, II, pp. 183-4; *B.*, II, p. 76.
4 *T.*, II, p. 183; *A. N.*, II, pp. 253-4.

Sulaimān Karranī, however, helped Khān Zamān by sending him an army under his generals Kālā Pahār and Sulaimān Mankalī.[1] He also took advantage of Emperor Akbar's embarrassing situation to make an attempt to conquer the fort of Rohtas[2] from the Afghān chief Fatḥ Khān Batnī, who had seized it in 1561. In the hour of his danger, Ḥasan Khān Baṭnī brother of Faṭh Khān, implored the help of the Mughal Emperor, promising to make over the fort to the Imperial officers. Akbar, who had come to Jaunpur to deal with Khān Zamān, sent a force under Qulīj Khān towards Rohtas. At this Sulaimān withdrew from the siege. Being relieved of the danger, Ḥasan Khān Baṭnī, however, forgot his promise to surrender the fort to the Emperor and he made preparations for its defence. So, the Mughal general had to return disappointed.[3]

Sulaimān Karranī continued to give help to Khān Zamān. Through the efforts of Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān, Khān Zamān was reconciled to the Emperor. Again in 1567, Khān Zamān rebelled in favour of Mirzā Ḥakīm and at Jaunpur he read the *Khubta* in his name. In an engagement with the imperial forces, he was, however, killed.

Khān Zamān had built a strong fort named Zamaniya near Banares. At the time of his death, one of his followers named Asad Allāh held the fort. Perceiving that he would not be able to maintain his hold on it against the Emperor, Asad Allāh proposed to surrender Zamaniya to Sulaimān Karranī. Being aware of this, Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān, who succeeded

[1] *A. N.*, II, p. 258.

[2] *Ibid*, 253; *B.*, II, pp. 77-8. Abūl Faḍl says that the fort of Rohtas, one of the stongest forts of India, was more than 5 *kos* in length and breadth and one *kos* in height and it had cultivable land and water inside.

[3] *T.*, II, p. 185; *A. N.*, II, p. 253; *B.*, II, pp. 77-8.

Khān Zamān to the viceroyalty of the eastern provinces, conciliated him. As the fort passed into the hands of the imperial officers, Sulaimān's army had to retreat baffled from before the fort.[1]

At the death of Khān Zamān, Sulaimān Karranī lost a very valuable friend in the Mughal empire. At the advice of Lodī, he, however, decided to make friends with Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān. In 1567 Sulaimān sent presents and friendly messages to him. Mun'im Khān responded to this gesture of friendship. To cement their friendship, Lodī arranged for a meeting between Sulaimān and Mun'im Khān. With his followers and officers, Mun'im Khān set off for Patna. Lodī and Bāyazīd came to receive the viceroy. When Mun'im Khān was five or six *kos* from Patna, Sulaimān himself came to receive him and embraced him. First Mun'im Khān gave a feast to Sulaimān Karranī in his camp. Next day Sulaimān gave him a feast. He made suitable presents to him and to the Emperor. Sulaimān also promised to continue the name of the Emperor in the *khuṭba* and coins.[2]

A few Afghāns suggested to Sulaimān the seizure of Mun'im Khān. They argued that it would cause confusion among the Mughals and would enable them to occupy the Mughal territories. Sulaimān and Lodī, however, did not accept their suggestion. Fearing that the unruly Afghāns might injure Mun'im Khan, they arranged for his security and safe return to his place.[3]

Secure in the friendship of Mun'im Khān, Sulaimān Karranī seized the opportunity created by Akbar's pre-occupation in the conquest of Chitore to invade Orissa and to occupy it.[4] Sulaimān preserved the friendship with Mun'im

[1] *A. N.*, II, p. 325; Biyāt, 90b.
[2] *Ibid*, 325-6.
[3] *A. N.*, II, pp. 326-7.
[4] *Ibid*, 324 and 326.

Khān so long as he lived.

Thus Sulaimān Karranī's prudence and sagacity saved for the Afghāns their home in Eastern India, which Sher Shāh's far-sighted political wisdom had built for them. Much against his inclination, Emperor Akbar had to be satisfied with his outward show of submission. Sulaimān's method of kindly treating the self-willed Afghān chiefs kept the solidarity of the Afghāns[1] and the Mughal Emperor found no scope to realize his imperialistic designs on Bengal and Bihar.

Indeed the Afghān dominion in Eastern India prospered and preserved its integrity so long as Sulaimān Karranī lived. His death in 1572 was indeed a great calamity for the Afghāns, because his mantle fell into the hands of his imprudent sons, who, discarding the wise and sound policy of their father, introduced dissension among the Afghāns and caused the ruin of the Afghān sultanate in Eastern India. Sulaimān Karranī was the last great ruler and leader of the Afghāns in India. The establishment of a powerful Afghān kingdom comprising the three prosperous provinces, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, in the days of the misfortunes of the Afghāns was a very significant achievement of this Karranī chief. It is a remarkable piece of his shrewd diplomacy and constructive statesmanship that he kept the integrity of his kingdom in the face of the opposition of the powerful Mughal Emperor Akbar. His re-forming the solidarity of the unruly and scattered Afghāns entitles him to the distinction of a great organiser and leader of his people. Such a capable and prudent leader was not born among the Afghāns after the death of Sher Shāh. Sulaimān Karranī was a successful ruler. During his reign Bengal enjoyed peace and progress and the people were happy and prosperous.

[1] *A. N.*, III, p. 20; *D.*, School, 162; BM., 126a.

CHAPTER VIII

DĀUD KARRANĪ AND HIS RELATIONS WITH AKBAR.

THE FALL OF THE AFGHAN SULTANATE IN EASTERN INDIA

In 1572 after the death of Sulaimān Karranī, his eldest son Bāyazīd Karranī succeeded him in his possessions in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. An ambitious youth, Bāyazīd departed from his father's policy of an outward submission to Emperor Akbar and introduced the *khuṭba* in his own name.[1] He also discarded his father's wise method of treating the Afghān chiefs and tried his best to ruin them.[2] Naturally the Afghān chiefs were disgusted with his behaviour and they plotted against him. Under the leadership of Qatlū Lohānī, the Lohānī Afghāns espoused the cause of Hansū, Sulaimān Karranī's brother 'Imād Karranī's son and his son-in-law, and within a few days of his accession , they put Bāyazīd to death.[3]

Dāud and Lodī

The murder of Bāyazīd unchained the spirit of discord and factious fight among the Afghāns ; the interested chiefs set up three rival candidates for the throne. The Lohānīs raised Hansū and Lodī, who had the supreme authority in the state, installed Sulaimān Karranī's youngest son Dāud Karranī on the throne. In Bihar, Gujar Karranī placed a son of Bāyazīd as a rival candidate for the sultanate.[4]

[1] *A. N.*, III, p. 20; *D.*, School, 162; BM., 126a.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid* and *M.*, 170b.; *B.*, II, p. 174; Briggs—*Firishta*, V, p. 355.
[4] *A. N.*, III, p. 20; *B.*, II, p. 174; *T.*, II, p. 293; *D.*, School, 162; BM., 126b.

Daūd and Lodī fought against Hansū and killed him. Being hard pressed, the Lohānīs submitted to Daūd. Then Lodī proceeded from the capital Tanda to deal with Gujar Karranī in Bihar. About this time, under the instruction of Akbar, Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān advanced from Chunar to invade the Afghān territories. At the approach of a large army under Lodī, Gujar Karranī became frightened and he negotiated with Mun'im Khān to surrender Bihar and enter the Mughal service, if the Emperor would grant him Gorakhpur, Hajipur and Bihar for a year and a fief in Bengal next year. Mun'im Khān accepted Gujar Karranī's proposal. Seeing in his transaction the ruin of the Afghāns, Lodī, however, exerted himself to reconcile Gujar to the rule of Dāud and, after prolonged negotiations, he succeeded in conciliating him. Lodī and Gujar then marched together to check the advance of the Mughals.[1]

Thus Lodī's ability and wisdom secured Dāud's position. Abūl Faḍl regrets that Mun'im Khān lost a good opportunity of creating discord among the Afghāns and of enlisting Gujar Karranī's services for striking a decisive blow at them in Eastern India.[2]

Under Lodī's direction, Dāud's cause was prospering even against the Mughals, because he had successfully checked Mun'im Khān's invading forces and was also advancing for the conquest of Jaunpur. It was at this time that, listening to the evil counsels of Qatlū, Srihari and Gujar Karranī, who were envious of the ascendancy of Lodī, Dāud distrusted his great minister and benefactor and worked for his own ruin. His evil counsellors made him understand that Lodī, who had been an old servant of Tāj Khān Karranī

[1] *A. N.* III, p, 20,

[2] *A. N.*, III, p. 21.

and had also affianced his daughter to his son Yūsuf, would soon set him aside in favour of his son-in-law. Believing their allegations, Dāud imprudently put Yūsuf to death and planned to destroy Lodī. Goaded to despair, Lodī stopped fighting against the Mughals and made peace with .Mun'im Khān, sending suitable presents to him and the Emperor.[1]

Lodī then turned towards Dāud, who, in great panic, retreated from Munghyr to Bengal. In order to keep the Afghāns by his side, Dāud distributed his father's treasures among them. About this time, Kālā Pahār and Jalāl Khān Sadhurī left Lodī. This obliged Lodī to retreat to the fort of Rohtas. Dāud came to Hajipur and sent a force against him. Declaring himself as a servant of the Emperor, Lodī sought the help of Mun'im Khān.[2] Mun'im Khān sent an army to help him and, expecting easily to conquer Bengal and Bihar, he himself moved forward.[3]

When Daūd saw that Lodī had contracted an alliance with the Mughal viceroy, under the advice of Qatlū Lohānī, Srihari and Gujar, he had recourse to wiles. He sent a message to Lodī saying, " you are in the place of my father ; if, on account of your love for his family, you have been offended with me, you have done your duty and I am not displeased with you. In every undertaking, I seek your assistance. At this time when the imperial forces have come against me, I wish that you, who have always shown excellent goodwill, would be prepared to fight the enemy. I make over to you the army, the park of artillery and the treasure."[4] Patriotic Lodī, to whom the cause of the Afghāns was perhaps dearer

[1] *A. N.*, II, pp. 22-3; *B.*, II, p. 174; *D.*, BM., 127a.; *T.*, II, p. 282.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *A. N.*, III, pp. 70-71.

[4] *A. N.*, III, pp. 71-2; *T.*, II, p. 282; *D.*, BM., 127a.

than his life,[1] was reconciled to Dāud. He then marched against the Mughals and effectively checked Mun'im Khān's forces on the bank of the Son.[2] To avert any further invasion of the Mughals, Lodī proposed peace to Mun'im Khān agreeing to pay to the Emperor a tribute of two lacs of rupees in cash and one lac of rupees in stuffs. In recollection of the old friendship with Sulaimān Karranī and Lodī, Mun'im Khān made peace with the Afghāns of Bihar and Bengal and returned to Jaunpur.[3]

Although Lodī's vigour and wisdom had averted the Mughal danger to his sultanate, Dāud did not appreciate his services. On the other hand, at the instigation of his evil counsellors, the imprudent ruler planned to ruin him. On the pretext of consulting him on an urgent matter of the state, Dāud Karranī sent for Lodī and when the unsuspecting minister came he imprisoned him and handed him over to Srihari.[4] Lodī felt certain that he would be executed. Still he gave his last advice to the misguided young ruler. Lodī advised him not to rely too much on the peace he had made with the Mughals, but to launch a vigorous campaign against them, because they would never let an opportunity of conquering Bengal and Bihar slip by.[5] Under the tuition of Qatlū and Srihari, whom he appointed to the office of *vakīl* and *wazīr* respectively in place of Lodī, Dāud, however, ignored the advice and caused Lodī to be put to death.[6]

By putting Lodī to death, Dāud had committed a great political blunder. The Afghān historian 'Abd Allāh says

[1] *A. N.*, III, p. 70.

[2] *Ibid*, 72.

[3] *T.*, II. p. 282; *B.*, II, pp. 174-5.

[4] and [5] *T.*, II, p. 282; *B.*, II, pp. 174-5 and 181; *D.*, BM., 127b.

[6] *T.*, II, p. 283; *D.*, BM., 127b.

that Lodī was the pillar of Dāud's sultanate and by executing him, Dāud destroyed his sultanate with his own hands.[1] Badāunī also writes that, by this senseless action, Dāud struck his own foot with his own axe and upprooted the plant of his prosperity.[2] Even Abūl Faḍl appreciates Lodī's wisdom, sound judgment and his devotion and services to the cause of his people. He says, "Lodī was far-seeing in stratagems and had a vigorous mind for plans. He was the rational spirit of the eastern provinces and was devoted to promoting the cause of the Afghāns."[3]

Indeed it was Lodī's wisdom and ability that had maintained the solidarity of the Afghāns and saved the Afghān sultanate in Eastern India against the Mughals. His death removed a great obstacle on the way to the Mughal conquest of Bihar and Bengal. Hence Abūl Faḍl exults in saying that it was the good fortune of the Emperor that his enemies themselves accomplished a work, which the servants of the Emperor could not effect, in spite of their best efforts.[4]

Lodī's execution produced a great dissension among the Afghāns.[5] This induced the Mughal viceroy Mun'im Khān to advance instantly for the conquest of Bihar and Bengal.[6]

1 *D.*, BM., 127b.
2 *B.*, II, p. 175:
لودی نیک خواه را بقتل رسانید و تیشه بر پائی خود زد و نهال دولتش را از همان زمان بکناء نکبت از بیخ براناداخت -
3 *A. N.*, III, p. 70 :
او در گریزت دست دراز داشت و در تربیر دل قوی و نفس ناطقهٔ دیار شرقیه شده برآمد کار طوائف افغانانرا طلبگار بود-
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid*,73; *D.*, BM., 127b.
6 *B.*, II, p. 175; T., II, p. 283.

Dāud's relations with Akbar:

Master of a large dominion consisting of Bengal (including Chittagong),[1] Bihar and Orissa, of a numerous army and vast wealth,[2] Dāud did not think himself in any way inferior to Emperor Akbar. He assumed the title of *Bādshāh* and read the *khuṭba* and struck coins in his own name.[3] Dāud even vied with the Mughal Emperor in majesties. He conferred the title of Khān Khānān on Isma'il Silahdār and *Khān Jahān* on another Afghān chief, who was governor of Orissa and was known by his title. He gave Srihari and Janakiballav the titles of *Vikramaditya* and *Basanta Rai* respectively. Gujar Karranī received from him the title of *Rukn al-Daulah* or the pillar of the state.[4]

According to the Mughal historians, Dāud's departure from the policy of his father and his open assumption of the sovereign rights offended Emperor Akbar and invited the Mughal invasion of the Karranī dominion in 1572.[5] Evidences, however, show that Akbar's invasion of Bihar and Bengal was entirely an act of aggression and Dāud's assumption of sovereignty was simply a pretext for war.

The writings of the court historian reveals the imperialistic scheme of his royal master. He writes, "According to the ascetic sages and politicians, the peace of the mortals is bound with one rule, one ruler, one guide, one aim and one

1 A. Rahim—*Chittagong under the Pathan Rule in Bengal*, JASB., 1952, pp. 28-30.

2 *Idem*, p. 174.

3 *T.*, II, pp. 281-2; *M.*, 171a; *D.*, BM., 126a; Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet, Assam, p. 177; coins AR 1—2.

4 *A. N.*, III, p. 108; *B.*, II, p. 181 and 195; *T.*, II, pp. 292-3 and 305.

5 *T.*, II, pp. 281-2.

thought."[1] Abūl Faḍl also explains Akbar's motive for the conquest of Bihar and Bengal saying, "Justice-loving rulers should not rest contented with the countries they are in possession, but should set their hearts upon conquering other countries and regard this as a choice form of worship. Hence the Emperor is continually engaged in the conquest of other countries."[2] The above statements of the court historian prove that Akbar was determined upon the conquest of Bihar and Bengal in order to realise his ideal of establishing one rule throughout the whole of India.

From the very beginning of his reign, Emperor Akbar was bent on the conquest of Bihar and Bengal in order to destroy the stronghold of the Afghāns, whom he greatly distrusted. In view of the strength and resources of Sulaimān Karranī and also his own troubles in the empire, he, however, could not realise his objects. But that he was anxious to expel the Afghāns from Eastern India is revealed in the writings of the contemporary Mughal historians. Even in 1557 when Sikandar Khān Sūr surrendered Mankot, Akbar issued a *farmān* giving him a temporary *jagir* in Jaunpur and promising him one permanently in Bengal as soon as Khān Zamān would conquer it from the Afghāns.[3] Again in 1563 when appointing Khān Zamān a second time to the viceroyalty of Jaunpur, Akbar promised him Bengal, if he could conquer that country from the Afghāns.[4]

1 *A. N.*, III, p. 4 :
اصفیان تجرد و اولیای تعلق نظر بر آسایش جهانیان که وابسته بیک حمکی و بیک حاکمی و یک راهی و یکجهتی ویک اندیشی است ۔

2 *A. N.*, III, pp. 86-7 :
دل در تسخیر ملک دیگر بستن را از عبادات گزیده شمارند

3 *B.*, II, pp. 18-9.
4 *Biyāt*, 100a.

Indeed Emperor Akbar waited only for a favourable opportunity to destroy the Afghān power in Eastern India. The death of the powerful Aghān ruler Sulaimān Karranī gave him the much looked for opportunity and the writings of Abūl Faḍl disclose this imoprtant fact. This court historian gives Emperor Akbar's reaction at the news of Sulaimān Karranī's death. He says that when the Emperor was proceeding to the Gujrat campaign, the news of Sulaimān Karranī's death reached him and a few of the officers suggested to him the postponement of the Gujrat campaign and to advance immediately to the conquest of Bihar and Bengal. The Emperor also observed at that time that it was good that the news of Sulaimān's death had come during his march to Gujrat, for had it come while he was in the capital, he would certainly have addressed himself to the conquest of Bengal.[1] However, feeling certain that, as Sulaimān Karranī was dead, the imperial servants would now easily conquer the Afghān territories, he sent a *farmān* to Mun'im Khān ordering him to advance at once to conquer Bihar and Bengal.[2]

The above facts show that Akbar only waited for an opportunity to conquer Bihar and Bengal from the Afghāns and he would have invaded Eastern India after the death of Sulaimān Karranī, even if Dāud had not assumed the insignia of royalty.

So, in 1572 after the death of Sulaimān Karranī, Mun'im Khān advanced to invade Bihar. About this time, Dāud and Lodī were proceeding against Gujar Karranī. It has been discussed previously how Lodī reconciled Gujar to Dāud and their combined forces marched to check the Mughal advance.[3] Lodī, however, thought it advisable to ward off the Mughal

1 *A. N.*, III, p. 4.
2 *Ibid*; *B.*, II, p. 174.
3 *Idem*, p. 187.

invasion by peaceful means. He offered two lacs of rupees and other valuables as a present to the Mughal viceroy. Friendship with Sulaimān and Lodī, troubles of a campaign in an old age and valuable presents induced Mun'im Khān to make peace with the Afghāns and return to Jaunpur.[1]

Lodī understood that, though Mun'im Khān had made peace with the Afghāns, Emperor Akbar would never be satisfied until Bihar and Bengal had been annexed to his empire. So he tried to strengthen the Afghān position and create trouble for the Mughals. About this time, Mun'im Khān was busy in dealing with the rebellion of Sulaimān Uzbek's son Yūsuf Muḥammad in Gorakhpur. Lodī availed this opportunity to march towards Jaunpur and occupy the fort of Zamaniya.[2] After defeating Yūsuf Muḥammad, Mun'im Khān proceeded to meet Lodī. Yūsuf Muḥammad joined Lodī and, being re-inforced by a contingent of the Afghān army, he advanced across the Ganges against the imperial forces. Ḥasan Khān, Raja Gajpati and other Mughal generals, however, defeated him and forced him to fall back.[3]

In the end, Lodī and Mun'im Khān confronted each other near Ghazipur. Lodī's strategy placed the Mughal forces in a very precarious position and this is reflected in the writings of Abūl Faḍl, who says, "The generals were in a strange position ; to fight was not advisable and it was difficult to retreat." In despair, Mun'im Khān made proposals for peace. Lodī, however, did not agree.[4] It was at this time when Dāud's cause was prospering against the Mughals that he planned to destroy Lodī and forced him to take up

1. *A. N.*, III, p. 20.
2. *Ibid*, 21-2; *T.*, II, pp. 281-2; *D.*, BM., School, 162; *Biyāt*, 90b.
3. *A. N.*, III, p. 22.
4. *Ibid*.

arms in self-preservation. Thus his senseless action spoiled a good chance of a victory over the Mughals. So, Abūl Faḍl writes that Mun'im Khān escaped from a great danger.[1] It has been seen that the wiles of Dāud soon reconciled Lodī to him and that veteran general successfully checked the Mughal advance on the bank of the Son. He then concluded a peace with the Mughal viceroy in order to ward off any further Mughal invasion. Shortly after this, Dāud in his imprudence, put his distinguished administrator and general to death.[2]

Loss of Bihar and Bengal :

Lodī's death induced Mun'im Khān to invade Bihar. Crossing the Son, he advanced within the striking distance of Patna. Though Dāud had a large army, yet he retreated to Patna and shut himself up in the fort.[3] In early November, 1573, Mun'im Khān besieged the fort of Patna and sent Majnūn Khān Qaqshāl and other Mughāl officers to break the dam of the Punpun river, which falls into the Ganges, ten miles east of Patna. Sulaimān Mankalī and Babuī Mankalī, the Afghān chiefs who guarded the dam, were surprised in a night attack and, being ashamed of their negligence, they went off to Ghoraghat in Bengal.[4]

The siege of Patna, however, did not make much progress. Well guarded by the Ganges, the fort defied the Mughal forces until August, 1574, when Akbar's presence entirely changed the situation. The Emperor discerned that the fort depended for its provisions on the town of Hajipur and that the capture of that town was an essential preliminary to the

1 *A.N.*, *III*, *p*. 70.

2 *Idem*, p. 189.

3 *T.*, II, p. 284; *B.*, II, p. 175; *A. N.*, III, p. 82; *D.*, BM., 127b.

4 *A. N.*, III, p. 83.

conquest of of the fort Patna. Accordingly he sent an well-equipped force supported by war-boats to capture Hajipur.[1] After a fierce resistance, the Mughal general Khān 'Ālam occupied that town.[2]

The fall of Hajipur broke the spirit of the Afghān resistance to the Mughals. The Afghān chiefs, particularly Qatlū Lohānī, advised the evacuation of Patna. As Dāud could not be persuaded to leave the fort, at night on August 10, 1574, Qatlū administered a narcotic to him and carried him senseless by a boat to the capital Tanda.[3] Dāud's favourite Hindu minister Srihari placed his master's treasures in a boat and followed him to Bengal.[4] Gujar Karranī evacuated the fort with the army and elephants. The night was very dark. The rivers were swollen and the country around was flooded. Niẓām al-Dīn compares the Afghān evacuation of this night with the Resurrection night. Dāud's army suffered terribly in the evacuation. A large number of them were drowned in the ditch round the fort. A few were trampled to death by the frightened elephants. The Punpun bridge gave way under the weight of the flying multitudes and a large number of the Afghān soldiers and elephants were drowned in the river.[5]

Easily occupying the evacuated fort of Patna, the Emperor pursued the fleeing Afghāns. Being overtaken, Gujar fled leaving behind a large number of elephants, which fell into the hands of the Mughals. Thinking that Mun'im Khān and other generals would now without difficulty occupy the rest of Bihar and Bengal, Emperor Akbar left for the capital. By September 1574 the Mughals captured from the

1 *A.N.* III, 82-3 and 96; *T.*, II, pp. 290-91.
2 *Ibid*, 100; *T.*, II, pp. 291-2; *B.*, II, p. 181; *N.*, 171a-b.
3 *M.*, 171a-b; *Dāudī*, BM., 127a; *B.*, II, p. 181.
4 *T.*, II, pp. 292-3.
5 *Idib*, 293; *A. N.*, III, pp. 100-1; *B.*, II, pp. 181-2.

Afghān possession Surajgarh, Munghyr, Bhagalpur, Colgong and other places practically without any opposition.[1]

Dāud, however, decided to check the Mughal advance into Bengal at the narrow pass of Teliagarhi, which was one of the three thoroughfares from Northern India into that province.[2] Starting from Patna, the Teligarhi route passes via Bhagalpur, Colgong and along the southern bank of the Ganges having in the south steep hills extending southwards for about eighty miles up to the northern boundary of the Birbhum district. Between the vast expanse of the Ganges in the north and the steep hills and rugged regions to the south, the route narrows down at Teliagarhi. From the earliest times, Teliagarhi was known as the 'Gateway to Bengal' and a fort was constructed in the place completely blocking the route.[3] It was at this strategic position that Dāud wanted to check the Mughals. But because of the confusion among the Afghāns, he could not make proper arrangement for the defence of the pass. He only left a small detachment of his army under the command of his Khān Khānān Isma'il Silahdār.[4]

Mun'im Khān found it very difficult to advance by the pass of Teliagarhi. He, however, won over some local *zamindārs*, who showed him a secret path by which a division of the Mughal army advanced to make a surprise attack on the Afghān rear. The plan succeeded well and, being attacked simultaneously in front and rear, Isma'il Silahdār found it impossible to fight against the enemy with his small force

1 *A. N.*, III, pp. 101-3 and 107-8; *B.*, II, p. 182.

2 Jharkhand route, Tirhut route and Teliagarhi route. Bhattasali—*Bengal chiefs' struggle*, BPP., 1928.

3 *A. N.*, III, p. 108.

4 *Ibid*; *T.*, II, p. 297.

and retreated. The Mughals occupied Teliagarhi practically without fighting. So, Abūl Faḍl exults in saying that by Divine aid the imperial army took possession of a place that could hardly have been occupied by fighting.[1]

The fall of Teliagarhi left Bengal open to the Mughals. In great panic, Dāud evacuated his capital Tanda and went to Satgaon. On September 21, 1574, Mun'im Khān took possession of Tanda[2] and sent several detachments of his forces against the Afghāns in different places of Bengal. One division under Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās pursued Dāud to Satgaon and another under Majnūn Khān Qaqshāl and Bābā Khān Qaqshāl advanced to Ghoraghat,[3] where Kālā Pahār, Bābui Mankalī and Sulaimān Mankalī had taken shelter. A third division under Murād Khān was sent to occupy Fathabad and Bakla and a fourth under I'timad Khān to acquire Sonargaon.[4]

In Ghoraghat, Kālā Pahār and the Mankalīs fought a sharp engagement with Majnūn Khān Qaqshāl but they were defeated. Sulaimān Mankalī died in the fight and Kālā Pahār and Bābui Mankalī fled towards Koch Bihar leaving their dependents and families prisoners in the hands of the Mughals. Majnūn Khān Qaqshāl occupied Ghoraghat and married his son to the daughter of Sulaimān Mankalī.[5]

1 *A. N.*, III, p. 108; *T.*, II, p. 297.

2 *Ibid*, p. 108; *T.*, p. II, 298.

3 Ghoraghat stands on the west bank of the Karatoya and on the western boundary of the Rangpur district and is included in the Dinajpur district. It is 28 miles north of Bogra town and 18 miles east of Hijli, an E. B. R. station. According to Buchanon, in the days of its prosperity Ghoraghat town extended 10 miles in length and 2 miles in breadth. In 1808, he found the ruins of some mosques and the *dargāh* of Ism'il Ghāzī, a captain of Barbik Shāh. Martin—*Eastern India*, II, pp. 679-82; Damont G. H. *Notes on Ismail Ghazi*, JASB., 1874; Bhattasali, N. K.—*Bengal chiefs' struggle*, BPP., 1928.

4 *A. N.*, III, pp. 118-19; *T.*, II, p. 298.

5 *A. N.*, III, p. 119; *T.*, II, pp. 302-3.

At the approach of the Mughal general, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Dāud retreated from Satgaon to Orissa. About this time, his minister Srihari escaped to Jessore with his treasures.[1] Dāud entrenched himself at Debra Kesai (15 miles east of the Midnapur town), to fight the Mughals. But when Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, reinforced by Todar Mal, advanced from Mandaran to Kulia (23 miles north-east of Midnapur town), he fell back on Garh Haripur (11 miles south-east of Danton Station on the B. N. R.).[2]

In the meantime, Dāud's cousin Junaid Karranī, a son of 'Imād Karranī, was causing great trouble to the Mughals. At the time of Sulaimān Karranī, Junaid fled from the court of his uncle and took shelter at the Mughal court. Though Emperor Akbar favoured him with a fief in Hindaun, he however left the imperial service and then, joining his fellow Afghāns in Gujrat, he fought against the Mughals.[3] After the Mughal conquest of Gujrat in 1573, Junaid went to Jharkhand and, with a band of warriors, plundered the Mughal possessions in Bihar.[4]

Junaid also wanted to join Dāud at Din Kesai. As Dāud could not trust his adventurous and ambitious cousin, they could not unite their forces against the Mughals. Junaid, however, continued successfully his plundering and devastating incursions into the Mughal terrirtories. It was at the advance of a superior army under Todar Mal that he retreated to the jungles of Jharkhand. But he remained a menace to the Mughals in Bihar.[5]

In 1575, Mun'im Khān and Raja Todar Mal took up

1 *A. N.*. III, p. 120.
2 *Ibid*, 121; *T.*, II, p. 304; Sarkar, J. N.—*Battle of Tukaroi*, BPP., 1935; Rennel—*Bengal Atlas*, sheet 7.
3 *A. N.*, II, p. 284 and III, p. 119 ; *B.*, I, p 193.
4 *Ibid* III, pp. 119-20 ; *T.*, II, pp. 303-4.
5 *Ibid.*

the plan of a vigorous campaign against Dāud. Todar Mal advanced from Mandaran and Mun'im Khān joined him at Cheto.[1] Leaving his family at Katak, Dāud encamped himself at Garh Haripur. He fortified his camp by digging trenches and throwing breastworks. He also barricaded at strategic points the regular road from Midnapur to Garh Haripur. Mun'im Khān found it very difficult to advance with his forces. With the help of the local people, he, however, discovered an obscure circuitous route and by it arrived at Najaura (11 miles east of the Danton Railway Station). Dāud advanced to check them and on March 3, 1575, confronted the enemy forces on the plains of Tukaroi (9 miles east of Danton and 3 miles west of Najura). The contending parties arranged their respective forces in the following battle array:[2]

R.	C.	L.	
Sikandar	Dāud	Isma'il Silahdār Khānkhānān	
	Gujar Karrani	Van	
	'Ālam Khān	Van	
	Qiyā Khān	Iltimsh	
L.			R.
Todar Mal	Mun'im Khān	Shāham Khān	
	C.		

[1] A. N. III, pp. 121-2 ; *T.*, II, p. 304.

[2] *A. N.*, III, pp. 121-2 ; *T.*, II, pp. 304-5 ; Sarkar, J. N— *Battle of Tukaroi*, BPP., 1935.

Dāud placed a line of huge tuskers in front of his forces and, covering them with hide and hanging a number of yak-tails from their heads and tusks, he made them terrible in appearance. As the field astrologers, who accompanied the Mughal army, foretold that the planets were not favourable, Mun'im Khān did not want to fight on that day. The Afghān van under Gujar, however, precipitated the battle with a furious charge of his elephants. He threw the Mughal van into confusion and killed its leader 'Ālam Khān. He even swept away the Mughal *Iltimsh* at the centre. In spite of his best efforts, Mun'im Khān failed to keep his soldiers in the field. The Afghān tide also swept him five miles away from the front. Pursuing him half a mile, the Afghān van turned to plunder his camp and pack of animals.[1]

The Afghān love for plunder before the battle was actually won ruined their victory, as it had done in several other battles. When the Afghān van was engaged in picking up the spoils, Qiyā Khān and other Mughal generals reformed their broken ranks and fell on them. Pierced in the brain by an arrow, Gujar fell dead. The death of their general caused confusion in the Afghān van and, in great panic, they dispersed.[2]

When Gujar and his van were pushing forward, the other three Afghān divisions remained spectators. The Afghān right under Orissa's governor Khān Jahān's brother Sikandar advanced to meet the Mughal left, but it fled without coming to blows. When Dāud's centre confronted the Mughal left, the news of Gujar's death reached it and the dispersed Mughal divisions returned to the field. About this time, the Mughal right drove away the Afghān left. All these unnerved Dāud's centre and the Afghāns fled in utter con-

1 and 2 *A. N.*, III, pp. 123-7 ; *T.*, II, pp. 305-6 ; *B.*, II, pp. 193-6; Sarkar, J. N.—*Battle of Tukaroi*, BPP., 1935.

fusion. The Mughals pursued and slaughtered the Afghāns and captured a large number of them. Next day Mun'im Khān vented his wrath by making eighty minarets reaching to the skies, with the heads of the Afghān prisoners.[1]

Being defeated in the battle of Tukaroi, Dāud fled to the fort of Katak. Khān Jahān encouraged him to fight the Mughals again. Accordingly, he prepared for another contest. But the Mughal generals were determined not to allow him any breathing time and, following their victory, they advanced to besiege the fort of Katak. As the preparations for a battle were not complete, Dāud thought it wise to make proposals for peace. In view of the strong position of the Afghāns in the fort, the war-worn octogenarian Mughal general Mun'im Khān and other Mughal officers, with the exception of Todar Mal, considered settlement as an advantage. After an exchange of messages, an interview was arranged between Dāud and Mun'im Khān in the Mughal camp. On April 12, 1575, accompanied by his chiefs, Dāud went to the camp of Mun'im Khān.

Mun'im Khān accorded an honourable and cordial reception to Dāud and entertained him and his chiefs to a magnificent feast. Amidst festivities a treaty was concluded. Dāud was to hold Orissa as a vassal of Emperor Akbar. He made presents of noted elephants and valuables to the Emperor and the viceroy. Abūl Faḍl says that, as a mark of his submission to the Emperor, Dāud turned his face towards the Mughal capital and prostrated himself. As a surety for his allegiance, he made over his brother's son, Shaikh Muḥammad, to the court. On behalf of the Emperor, Mun'im Khān conferred on Dāud a splendid *khil'at*, a sword and a

1 *A. N.*, III, pp. 129-30 ; *T.*, II, pp. 308-9 ; *B.*, II, pp. 195-6.

jewelled belt.[1]

The battle of Tukaroi and the treaty of Katak registered the transfer of the sovereignty of Bengal and Bihar from the Afghāns to the Mughals. The Afghāns in general, however, did not accept the treaty and the cession of territories. They continued to resist the Mughals in different places of Bihar and Bengal. The Afghān chiefs maintained their hold on Rohtas, Chaund and Sahsaram. From his stronghold in Jharkhand, Junaid Karranī raided South Bihar. Kālā Pahār, Bābui Mankalī and Jalāl al-Din Sūr drove away Majnūn Khān Qaqshāl from Ghoraghat.[2] They also expelled the Mughals from Gaur and recovered the whole of North Bengal. They even pursued the Mughals to Tanda. The timely arrival of Mun'im Khān, however, saved the situation. He relieved the capital Tanda, and then hastened to Gaur and recaptured it. He sent Majnūn Khān with a large army to Ghoraghat. After a fierce fighting Majnūn Khān recovered Ghoraghat. Still the Afghāns continued to give trouble to the Mughals in North Bengal as well as in South Bihar.[3]

Thinking that residence in Gaur would enable him to deal effectivley with the Afghān disturbances in North Bengal and also, being attracted by the magnificent buildings of the old capital of Bengal, Mun'im Khān shifted his head-quarters from Tanda to Gaur, in August 1575. The transfer of capital proved a blunder. It was on account of its notoriously bad climate that only a few years ago Sulaimān Karranī had shifted the capital from Gaur to Tanda. Mun'im Khān ignored this fact and suffered terribly. Just a month had passed after the shifting at Gaur when a great plague broke out in the city. In his *Memoirs*, Bāyazīd Biyāt, an

[1] and [2] *A. N.*, III, pp. 130-1 ; *B.*, II, pp. 195-7 ; *T.*, II, pp. 309-10.
[3] *Ibid*, 131 ; *B.* II, pp. 216-8 ; I., II pp. 317.

attendant of Mun'im Khān has left a graphic account of this great calamity. He wrote that people died in such large numbers that cremation or burial became impossible. It was only when twelve of his distinguished generals had died that Mum'im Khān ordered his men back to Tanda. But he could not enter Tanda. In the outskirts of Tanda, he was taken ill and on October 23, 1575, at the age of over eighty, he died.[1]

Fall of Dāud :

Mun'im Khān's death encouraged Dāud to make a bid for the recovery of Bengal and Bihar. He swiftly fell on the Mughal general Naḍr Bahādur, defeated and killed him and occupied Bhadrak. At his approach, the Mughals fled away from Jaleswar and Tanda. Dāud re-entered his capital and easily recovered Teliagarhi from the panic-striken Mughals. 'Isa Khān, the *zamīndār* of *Bhati*, drove away the Mughal *nawara* from Eastern Bengal. Panic and confusion prevailed among the Mughals everywhere and, leaving Bengal, they proceeded towards Northern India.[2]

Akbar sent Bairām Khān's sister's son Ḥusain Qulī Khān entitled Khān Jahān as governor and general in Bengal. Raja Todar Mal was appointed to assist him in recovering that province from the hands of the Afghāns. In November 1575 they left Agra and near Bhagalpur they met the Mughal officers and soldiers fleeing from Bengal to Northern India. With great difficulty, Khān Jahān and Todar Mal persuaded them to turn towards Bengal. At Teliagarhi their advance was opposed by 3,000 Afghāns under Ayāz Khāṣkhail. In a fierce engagement, the Mughal generals overpowered the Afghāns and Teliagarhi again passed into the hands of the Mughals.[3] Khān Jahān advanced towards Tanda. Dāud,

[1] *A. N.*, III, pp. 160-1 ; *B.*, II, pp. 216-8 ; *Biyāt*, 147a.
[2] *Ibid.*, 161-2 ; *B.*, II, p. 218 ; *T.*, II, pp. 319-20.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 162 ; *B.* II, p. 227; *T.*, II, p. 321.

however, blocked his passage at a narrow place, situated between the Ganges on the north-west and the hills on the south-east, in Rajmahal.[1] In this Rajmahal pass, he had fortified his position and held up the Mughals for seven months from December 1575 to June 1576.[2]

In spite of his best efforts, Khān Jahān could not make his way through the pass, though in a skirmish he killed Dāud's Khān Khānān Isma'il Silahdār.[3] On the other hand, his position became daily weaker. The rains, the interception of the supply of his provisions by the Afghāns in Bihar and the difficulties of the place unnerved the Mughal soldiers. Besides, the Sunni Mughals did not like to fight under a Persian Shi'a, Khān Jahān. Moreover, the Afghāns were daily increasing in number and Dāud had diplomatically caused the desertion from Mughal service of Raja Gājpati, the *zamīndār* of Patna and Hajipur, and induced him to create trouble for the Mughals in Bihar and Ghazipur.[4]

Being in a precarious position, Khān Jahān sent urgent representations to the Emperor for food and re-inforcements. Akbar despatched boat-loads of food from Agra and ordered Muẓaffar Khān to advance immediately from Bihar to the assistance of Khān Jahān. On July 10, 1576 Muzaffar Khān, with his men and supplies, joined the Mughal forces at Rajmahal.[5] Khān Jahān then arranged his forces in battle array

1 Rajmahal was previously called Akmahal or advance place, because while proceeding to Bihar, the sulṭāns of Gaur used it as an advance station. Man Sigh named it Akbarmahal and later on it came to be known as Rajmahal.
Bhattasali, N. K. - *Bengal Chiefs' Struggle*, BPP., 1928.

2 *A. N.*, III, pp. 162-3 and 179 ; *T.*, II, p. 321.

3 *A. N.*, III, pp. 162-3 ; 168 and 176 ; *T.*, II, pp. 321-2.

4 *Ibid.*, 168-9 and 178-9; *B.*, II, p. 237.

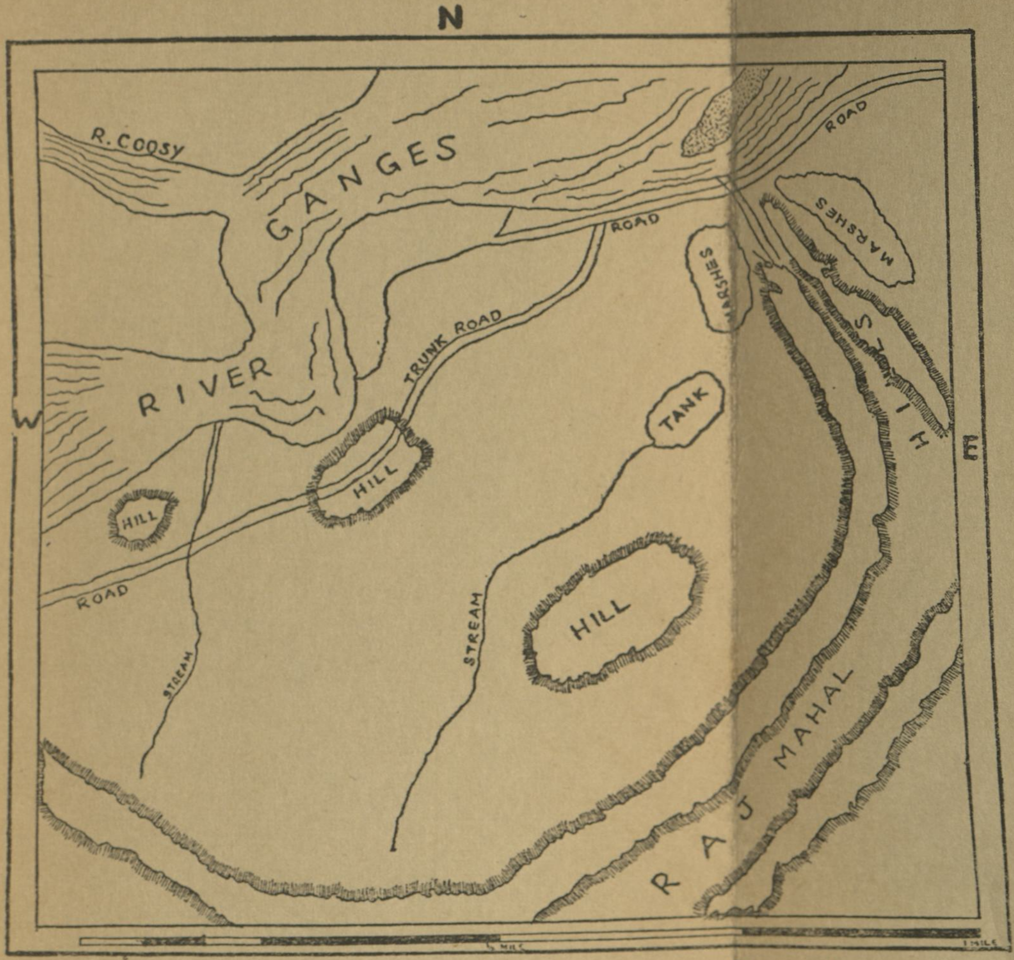
5 *Ibid.*, p. 180 ; *B.* II, p. 238 ; *T.*, II, p. 324.

and, on July 12, 1576 (15 *Rabī'* II, 984), a fierce battle took place between the Mughals and Afghāns in the field of Rajmahal.[1]

Badāunī says that, in his great presumption and pride, Dāud left his hiding place and offered battle to the Mughals.[2] It is surprising that Dāud should have left his strategically strong position in the narrow pass, where he had held up the Mughals for seven months, and came down into the plain to fight an open battle with the enemy. The Mughal historians are of opinion that the joining of the great warrior Junaid, Dāud's cousin, emboldened him and, feeling confident of gaining a victory in the open field, he left his strong position.[3] In his *Pratapaditya Charitra*, Ramram Basu, on the other hand, mentions that the treachery of Dāud's favourite minister Srihari Vikramaditya was the cause of his leaving the narrow pass and fighting the battle on the plain. According to Ramram Basu, Srihari Vikramaditya and his brother Basanta Rai gave the state papers and other secrets to the Mughal generals, who in return assured them of their possession in Jessore. The news of the defection of Srihari greatly upset Dāud and he left his hiding place in the hills to meet the Mughals on the plains.[4]

Although written in a fanciful style and more then two centuries after the event had taken place, the account of *Pratapaditya Charitra* seems to preserve a rare fact. Its evidence of Dāud's favour to Srihari and Basanta Rai and their flight to Jessore with the treasures of their master[5] in the days of his adversities against the Mughals is corroborated

1 *A.N.*, III, p. 180 ; *B.*, II, p. 238 ; *T.*' II, p. 324.
2 *B.*, II. p. 238.
3 *B.*, II, p. 238 ; *T.*, II, p. 324.
4 Ramram Basu - *Pratapaditya Charitra*, 32-8.
5 *Ibid.*, 12 and 32-4.



THE PASS OF RAJ-MAHAL WHERE DAUD KARRANI HELD UP THE MUGHALS IN 1575-76. A.D.

TAKEN FROM BENGAL PAST AND PRESENT, 1929

from the writings of the contemporary historians.[1] Moreover, Badāunī's evidence that Dāud left his hiding place to fight also substantially agrees with Ramram Basu's account.[2] Furthermore, the fact that, after the conquest of Bengal, the Mughals, though they occupied the adjoining territories of Fathabad and Bakla, but spared Srihari's Jessore confirms the suspicion that he must have rendered valuable services to them and this entitled him to be left undisturbed in his *zamindārī*. Indeed the defection and faithlessness of his confidant Srihari greatly weakened Dāud and he suspected that some other of his chiefs might play the same game with him. So, he considered it prudent to risk an open engagement with the Mughals rather than allowing his strength to be dwindled by defection. Otherwise, there was no other consideration which could induce Dāud to leave his strong and strategic position where he had successfully held up the great Mughal generals and their forces for seven months and they were placed in a very precarious condition.

Dāud, however, arranged his forces in battle array. In the field of Rajmahal, the Afghāns and Mughals confronted each other in the following battle array.[3]

R. Kālā Pahār	C. Dāud		L. Junaid
	Qatlū and Khan Jahān	Van	
	Shāham Khān	Van	
	Ismail and Qiyā Khān	Iltimsh	
L. Todar Mal	C. Khān Jahān	Muẓaffar Khān R.	

1 *Idem*, pp. 189 and 199. 2 *Idem*, p. 206.
3 *A.N.*, III, p, 180; *B.*, II p. 238; *T.*, II, p. 234.

Unfortunately for Dāud, his best general Junaid Karranī had his knee smashed as a result of the fall of a Mughal cannon in the previous night when he was sleeping on a charpai.[1] This disheartened the Afghāns. Even then, Junaid led his forces in the battle. In the first encounter, the Afghān right shook the Mughal left. But the Mughal fire wounded Kālā Pahār and he fled from the field. His flight and the pressure of the Mughal left caused confusion in the Afghān right. In a fierce engagement with the Mughal right, Junaid was killed and the Afghān left was routed from the field. An attack of the Mughal van and *Iltimsh* killed Khān Jahān and the Afghān van dispersed. After this, the Afghān centre gave way without fighting. Dāud fled for his life. His horse, however, got entangled in a marsh and he was brought a captive before the Mughal commander Khān Jahān.[2]

Khān Jahān rebuked Dāud for having broken the treaty of Katak. Dāud replied with composure that the treaty was with Mun'im Khān and that the time had come for the conclusion of a new one. Badāunī writes that, parched with thirst, Dāud asked for water and some wicked soldiers, filling his slipper with water, offered it to him. But Khān Jahān generously offered him a drink from his own private canteen. He also wanted to spare the life of a young and handsome prince, Dāud, but all the Mughal officers advised for his execution. To severe Dāud's head from hisbody they took two strokes at the neck, but they failed. At the third stroke, however, they succeeded. Khān Jahān sent Dāud's head to the Emperor by the hands of Saiyid 'Abd AllāhKhān.[3] The battle of Rajmahal closed the last chapter of Afghān rule in

[1] *A. N.*, III, p. 181 ; *B.*, II, p. 238 ; *T.*, II, p. 234.

[2] *Ibid.*, 181-2 ; *B.*, II, p. 238 ; *T.*, II, p. 325.

[3] *A. N.*, III, p. 182 ; *B.*, II, p. 238 ; *T.*, II, p. 325.

Eastern India.

Ni'mat Allāh says that the Afghāns lost their sultanate in Eastern India on account of Qatlū Lohānī's baseness.[1] According to this Afghān historian, on the eve of the battle of Rajmahal, Qatlū formed a treasonable connection with Khān Jahān. On condition that some *parganas* of Orissa would be given to him, he promised to take such a position in the battle as to render Dāud's defeat unavoidable.[2]

The Mughal historians state that in the battle of Rajmahal Qatlū Lohānī and Dāud's Khān Jahān commanded the Afghān van. They mention that Khān Jahān was killed and the Afghān van dispersed ; but they do not refer to the activities of Qatlū in the battle. The silence of the Mughal historians in a way agrees with the evidence of Ni'mat Allāh that Qatlū deserted Dāud in the battle-field. Moreover, Ni'mat Allāh says that, as a reward for his treachery, Qatlū received from Khān Jahān the territory of Orissa.[3] Indeed, after the battle of Rajmahal, Qatlū is found in possession of Orissa. How did he acquire this territory, if he did not receive it as a reward for his defection? Had it not been conferred on him for his valuable services, Emperor Akbar never would have consented to leave Orissa in the possession of the turbulent Afghans, particularly when they were decisively defeated and all their territories lay at the heels of the Mughals. After the battle of Rajmahal, the Mughals occupied the Afghān possessions in Bengal and Bihar. What did refrain them from occupying Orissa? Even for some years after 1576, Orissa remained undisturbed by the Mughals. It was only in 1583 when, at the time of the Bihar-Bengal rebellion of the Mughal officers, Qatlū proved disloyal to the Emperor

1 *M.*, 172a.

2 *Ibid*, 172b.

3 *Ibid.*

that a force was sent against him.[1]

Thus, on account of Emperor Akbar's determination to expel the turbulent Afghāns from their stronghold in Eastern India, Dāud's foolishness in killing his wise and able minister Lodī, the desertion and faithlessness of his favourite minister Srihari Vikramaditya and the treachery of his counsellor Qatlū Lohānī, the Afghāns lost their home and sultanate in Bengal and Bihar which was built by the genius of Sher Shāh and preserved by the wisdom and ability of Sulaimān Karranī.

[1] *History of Bengal*, D. U., II, pp. 199-202.

CHAPTER IX

ADMINISTRATION AND CULTURE UNDER AFGHĀN RULE IN BENGAL.

Bengal formed part of the Afghan sultanate from the time of Sher Shāh. When Muḥammad 'Ādil Sūr usurped the throne of the boy sulṭān Fīrūz in 1552, Muḥammad Khān Sūr, governor of Bengal, disowned the authority of the Delhi sultanate and declared himself an independent ruler under the title of Muḥammad Shāh. Thus there arose in the province of Bengal an independent Afghān monarchy which continued its existence till the last ruler Dāud Karranī was overthrown by Emperor Akbar's general Khān Jahān at the battle of Rajmahal in 1576.

At the time of the Sūr Afghan monarchy in Bengal, the Sūr and Karranī Afghāns were influential and, during the Karranī rule, the Karranī and Lohānī Afghāns were predominant in the country. In this period, the Lodī, Niyāzī, Farmulī and other Afghān tribes had receded into the background.

The Afghan monarchy in Bengal maintained the Afghān tradition of tribal hegemony. In the days of Sher Shāh, Bengal was divided into a few parts and these were given to the tribal chiefs. The Sūr and Karranī rulers gave *Jagirs* to their kinsmen. Thus the Lohānīs under their leader Qatlū Lohānī were settled in Orissa, which was conquered in the reign of Sulaimān Karranī from its Hindu king. Other Afghān tribes were similarly apportioned terrltories in Bengal and Bihar. The tribal chiefs, who owed allegiance to the

king and helped him with their tribal force in times of need and paid him the stipulated amount of tribute, ruled in practical independence in their respective territories. The crownlands were the mainstay of the king's resources and power.

The central structure of the Afghān sultanate in Bengal was modelled on the pattern of the Afghān administration in Northern India. The king was at the apex of the system. He was the head of the administration and leader of the Afghāns. The monarchy was hereditary, though in the choice of a successor the Afghān chiefs exercised decisive influence. The power and position of a king in relation to the Afghān chiefs depended largely on his personality, organising capacity and diplomatic shrewdness. A strong ruler like Sulaimān Karranī commanded obedience of the chiefs, while a weak one like Dāud Karranī figured as a puppet in their hands. They decided the policy of his state. When Emperor Akbar invaded Patna, Dāud was opposed to the Afghān chiefs' advice of evacuating the fort. In spite of this, Qatlū Lohānī and other chiefs effected their policy of evacuation.[1] If this retreat was a blunder, is a different question, but this fact illustrates the enormous influence of the Afghān chiefs on the government of the Karranī sulṭān.

Next to the sulṭān was the *vakīl*, who was his chief adviser and lieutenant in administration. The *vakīl* supervised the administration on behalf of the sulṭān. He could take decisions in urgent matters and execute it. Dāud's *vakīl* Lodī made peace with the Mughal general Mun'im Khān, agreeing to pay to Emperor Akbar a tribute of three lacs

[1] See Chapter VIII, p. 189.
It was also at the advice of Qatlū and others that Dāud executed his great minister Lodī.

of rupees.[1] Badāunī refers to Lodī as *amīr-al-umarā'* chief of the chiefs,[2] and Niẕām-al-Dīn, Abūl Faḍl and Firishta write that he held the supreme authority in the state.[3] After the execution of Lodī, Dāud appointed Qatlū Lohānī to the office of the *vakīl*. Qatlū carried[4] through the evacuation of Patna, although Dāud was opposed to this step. This shows the great power of the *vakīl* in the Karranī monarchy. When Qatlū Lohānī established an independent dynasty in Orissa, Khwāja 'Isa was his *vakīl*. Khwāja 'Isa continued in this high office in the reign of Qatlū's successor and piloted the ship of the Lohānī state till his death.[5]

The *wazīr* was the minister in charge of finance. In power and position he was second to the *vakīl*. Dāud appointed to this important office a Hindu Bengali, Srihari, and also conferred on him the lofty title of *Vikramjit* (*Vikramaditya*).[6] At the time of the evacuation of Patna, this *wazīr* Srihari Vikramaditya placed the royal treasure in a boat and went towards Bengal.[7] When Teliagarhi fell into the hands of the Mughals and Dāud fled from Satgaon to Orissa, Srihari carried all the royal treasures to Jessore.[8]

The Afghān rulers of Bengal maintained a big army establishment. It is known that Sulaimān Karranī had a force of 3,600 elephants, 40,000 cavalry, 14,000 infantry, 20,000 pieces of cannon and several hundred war-boats.[9]

1 *Tabāqat*, II, p. 282.
2 *Badāunī*, II, pp. 174-75.
3 *Akbarnāma*, III, p. 20 ; *Tabāqat*, II, p. 282.
لودی که امیرالامراء و مدارالملک او بور -
4 *Akbarnāma*, II, p. 181.
5 See Chapter XI
6 *Tabāqat*, II, p. 263 ; *Badāunī*, II, p. 181 ; *Dāudī*, BM., 127b.
7 *Badāunī*, II, p. 181.
8 *A. N.*, III, p. 120.
9 Stewart—*History of Bengal*, p. 152.

Dāud entrusted the supervision of the military establishment to Gujar Karranī, on whom, according to Badāunī, the Karranī ruler conferred the title of *Rukn al-Daulah*, the pillar of the state.[1] Gujar Karranī as well as Qatlū and Srihari advised Dāud in state affairs. He advised the execution of Lodī [2] and planned the evacuation of the army from the fort of Patna.[3] These indicate that Gujar Karranī was a minister and was in charge of the military department (*Dīwān-i-'Ard*).

There was a commander-in-chief of the army. Isma'il Silahdār, who was given the title of Khān Khānān by Dāud,[4] was the commander-in-chief of that ruler. Dāud imitated Emperor Akbar in royalty and court formalities. Following the example of the Mughal Emperor he conferred high titles on his chiefs. Khān Khānān was the highest title at the Mughal court and was usually given to the commander-in-chief. Dāud conferred this title on Isma'il Silahdār and the title of Khān Jahān on another noble of the court.

There is no reference to the other aspects of the administration of the Afghān rulers in Bengal. It is however supposed that they continued the other institutions of Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh. When Jahāngīr subjugated the *Bara Bhuyans*, the office of *shiqdār*, according to Mīrzā Naṭhan, the author of the *Bahāristān-i-Ghāybī*, existed in Bengal. But he referred to the *shiqdār* as a revenue officer, collecting revenue from the *zamīndārs*.[5] It seems that in the later Afghān period the *shiqdār* combined the office of the collec-

1 *Badāunī*, III, p. 181. Abū l Faḍl (*A. N.* III, p. 20) says that Gujar was the sword of that country.

2 See Chapter VIII, p. 196.

3 *Bādaunī* II, p. 181.

4 *A. N.* III, p. 108.

5 *Bahāristān* I, p. 123.

tor of revenue to his police and magisterial duties. We do not find mention of *shiqdār-i-shiqdārān*. It may be that due to the parcelling out of the territories in *jagirs* among the Afghān chiefs and the existence of many *zamīndārs* in Bengal, the office of *shiqdār-i-shiqdārān* had fallen into disuse.

Rise of Hindus:

The Afghān rulers of Bengal, like the Afghān 'sulṭāns of Northern India, followed a very liberal policy towards the non-Muslim subjects. They patronised the Hindu intellect and elevated them to places of great responsibility and trust in the state. It is gathered from "*Pratapaditya charitra*" that the ancestors of Pratapaditya, one of the *Bara Bhuyans* of Bengal, flourished in position, influence and wealth under the patronage of the Karranī rulers. Ramananda Guha and his sons Bhabananda, Gunananda and Sivananda occupied responsible offices in the government of Sulaimān Karranī.[1] Bhabananda and Gunananda rose to the position of ministers and Sivananda was promoted to the position of the chief of the revenue department. In the reign of Dāud Karranī the Hindu influence in the Afghān state rose to its zenith. Srihari, son of Bhabananda and the boon companion of Dāud from his boyhood, was elevated to the office of the *wazīr* and was dignified with the lofty title of *Vikramaditya*. Srihari Vikramaditya thus became the prime confidant of Dāud Karranī in the affairs of the state. Having the confidence of the King and the absolute control of the royal treasury, this Hindu minister naturally wielded enormous influence in state affairs and it will not be an exaggeration to say that he really decided the destiny of the Afghān sultanate in Eastern India. Srihari's brother Janakiballav held the charge of the revenue department and was distin-

1 See Chapter VII, p. 175.

guished with the title of *Basanta Rai.* The Hindus manned the revenue department from the top to the bottom. Apart from this, they were engaged in other offices of the administration.

It was because of their great influence in the administration and their absolute control over the finance that the two brothers Srihari and Janakiballav could transfer the royal treasury and wealth of Dāud Karranī to Jessore. It was an act of gross ingratitude of these two persons to have repaid their great patron and benefactor in relieving him of all his wealth in the time of his great crisis. The worst of their ingratitude and faithlessness was that the two brothers, in the pursuit of their selfish motive, abandoned the cause of Dāud in his life and death struggle against the Mughal general Khān Jahān and they even stooped so low as to give out the military secrets to the enemy. Because of their foul treachery, Dāud had to leave his advantageous position at the narrow pass of Teliagarhi and to offer battle to the Mughals on the plains of Rajmahal. The faithlessness of Srihari and Janakiballav thus accounted for the ruin of Dāud and the Karranī dynasty at the battle of Rajmahal. The reign of Dāud is an instance of the ascendancy of the Hindus at the court of the Afghāns and it illustrates how faithlessly the Hindu ministers and confidants presided over the destiny of the Muslim rule in Bengal. It was by this ill-gotten wealth that Srihari built his *zamīndārī* in Jessore. It was by his treachery to his master that he saved his *zamīndārī* from being annexed into the Mughal empire. But the prosperity and *zamīndārī* thus acquired by fraud and faithlessness did not endure more than a generation. Within the life-time of Srihari's son and successor, Pratapaditya, his everything lay in ruins and the family of Vikramaditya had a sharp lesson and tragic fall.

The Bara Bhuyans:

In dealing with the Afghān rule in Bengal, it is imperative to refer to the *Bara Bhuyans*, because they played a very significant role in the political and social life of this province in the later half of the sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth century. Moreover, the rise of the *Bara Bhuyans* to a position of eminence was closely connected with the Afghān rule in Bengal. The Bengali word '*Bara Bhuyans*' literally means twelve *zamīndārs* or landlords. A good deal has been written about the implication of the word '*Bara*' *or* 'twelve' associated with '*Bhuyans*' by Prof. S.C. Mitra in his *Jessore-Khulner Itihasha* and by Mr. N.K. Bhattasali in his accounts of the 'Twelve Chiefs' struggle for independence. They reached the identical conclusion and held the view that '*Bara*' or twelve denotes an indefinite number in Bengal. Indeed it is true that in the common phraseology in Bengal 'twelve' is conveyed to mean a number without limit, *i.e.*, many, while the number 'five' is used to mean a small number of leading persons. In the Bengali colloqial we often come across the phrase '*Bara jane bara katha kai*', meaning, twelve men speak twelve things. This really means that many men speak many things. Another phrase is generally associated with a property which is not taken care of and is enjoyed by others. This is '*Bara bhute khai* (twelve persons eat or enjoy). This signifies that such a property is enjoyed by others or many persons who have no right to it. It is in this sense of 'many' that the word '*Bara*' has been associated with the *Bhuyans*. It is also gathered from the contemporary records that the number of Bengal *zamīndārs* of the time exceeded even the double the number twelve. So, by mentioning them by the term '*Bara Bhuyans*', the contemporary writers have really given the impression of an indefinite number of *zamīndārs*.

A few of these *zamīndārs* had their origin from the Hindu times. After the conquest of Bengal, the Muslim rulers left them undisturbed in the possession of their *zamīndārīes* on their promise to be loyal and to pay regular tribute to the state. In the Vaishnava literature there are references of a large number of *zamīndārs* holding sway in different places of Bengal under Muslim rule. In the early Muslim time also, some new *zamīndārīes* came into existence on the ruins of a few older ones or as a result of contract with the government in the collection of revenues. *Chaitanya Charitamrita* refers to one Hiranyadas as a *zamīndār* of Saptagrama (Satgaon). It records that he was a *Chaudhury* and the government granted him a *sanad* for the Satgaon region on his agreeing to pay twelve lacs of rupees as state revenue.[1] There is difficulty in tracing the origin of other *zamīndārs* in the absence of evidence. From the Vaishnava literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it is however known that Buddhimanta Rai was the *zamīndār* of Navadvip, Haris Chandra Rai of Jalapantha, Ram Chandra Khān of Benapol in Jessore, Chand Rai of Rajmahal, Krishnananda Datta of Kheturi and Divyasingh of Laur in Sylhet.[2]

There is also reference of Raja Bir Hamir as a *zamīndār* of Bana Bishnupur[3] (in the Bankura District). He was one of the older *zamīndārs* who continued their existence throughout the Afghān and Mughal period. After the fall of the Afghān rule in Bengal, he transferred his allegiance to the Mughal Emperor and remained loyal to the new regime, in spite of the inducements of the Afghān ruler of Orissa.

1 Krishnadas—*Chaitanya Charitamrita*, quoted in Sahitya Parishad Patrika, 1331 B. S., pt. III, p. 140.

2 Quoted from *Prembilas Chaitanya Bhagavata, Advatyaprakash, Chaitanya Chairtamrita*, etc., Sahitya Parishad Patrika, 1351 B.S., pt. III, pp. 138-42

3 *Sahity Parishada Patrika*, 1351 B. S., pt. III, p. 139.

Bir Hamir helped Raja Man Singh in his campaigns against Qatlū Lohānī in 1590 A. D. He saved the wounded Jagat Singh, a son of Man Singh, from being captured by the Afghāns. Because of his loyalty to the Mughals, the Lohānīs attacked him afterwards. This led Man Singh to invade Orissa and dispossess the Afghāns of that province in 1592 A. D.[1] *Bahāristān* also refers to Bir Hamir.[2] He flourished as a loyal zamīndār and in the campaign of Mīr Jumla against Prince Shujā,' he rendered valuable help to that general of Emperor Aurangzeb. No evidence is available to connect the other *zamīndārs* of the Vaishnava period with any of the *Bara Bhuyans*. It is however not unlikely that some of them were the ancestors of the *Bara Bhuyans* of the later part of the sixteenth century. The *zamīndār* family of Hijli, which became so illustrious under one of its ancestors, Masnad-i-'Alī Tāj Khān, traces its origin from the time of Sulṭān Ḥusain Shāh.[3] *Bahāristān* refers to Salīm Khān as the *zamīndār* of Hijli in the time of *ṣūbadār* Islām Khān.[4] Whatever might be the time of the beginning of this family, it is however certain that this Muslim *zamīndārī* of Hijli existed in the period of the Karranī Afghāns.

The Vaishanava literatures have made incidental mention of the Muslim *zamīndārs*, but have not given their names and their territories.[5] These, however, express that there were some Muslim *zamīndārs* in the time of Chaitanya in the fifteenth century. It is but natural to expect the rise of some Muslim *zamīndārs* after the Muslim conquest of

[1] *History of Bengal* (D. U.), II, p. 208.
Bir Hamir was the title of the *zamīndārs* of Bishnupur.
[2] *Bahāristān*, I, p. 15.
[3] M.N. Karan—*Hijlir Masnad-i-'Alī* (Midnapore 1333 B.S.) p. 4 and 20.
[4] *Bahāristān*, I, p.19.
[5] *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, quoted in Sahitya Parishad Patrika, 1351 B. S., pt. III, p. 138.

যদ্যপ যবনরাজের আগে অধিকার,
যার ভয়ে কেহ পথে নারে চলিবার।

Bengal.

Sher Shāh divided Bengal into a number of smaller areas, most probably *sarkārs*, and gave them to the tribal chiefs of the Afghāns. This suggests that several Afghān *zamīndārs* had their origin from this time. The Afghān *zamīndārs*, Ibrāhīm Moral and Karīmdād Mūsazai, defied the Mughal authority immediately after the fall of the Karranī power in Bengal. They had estates near the locality of Bhowal, i.e., in Sonargaon and Maheswardi *parganas*.[1] Rajmala refers to the Afghān chief Fateḥ Khān as a *zamīndār* of Taraf,[2] which is identified with the south-west of Sylhet District. He was a contemporary of Amarmanikya and 'Isa Khān. These Afghān zamīndārīes must have their rise in the pre-Mughal period, most probably in the Afghān time.

Faḍl Ghāzī, a *zamīndār* of Bhowal, was a contemporary of Sher Shāh. It is known from a cannon inscription, now in the Dacca Museum, dated 949 H./1542 A.D., that the cannon was a present of Faḍl Ghāzī to Sher Shāh. This shows that Faḍl Ghāzī was an important zamīndār from the beginning of the Afghān rule, if not from earlier. In the *Akbarnāma* there is mention of Talā Ghāzī as a *zamīndār* of the Bhowal locality. Talā Ghāzī helped the Mughal general Khān Jahān in his retreat in 1578 A.D., after his setback in the campaign against the *Bara Bhuyans* in that region.[3] Perhaps Talipabad was named after him and it formed the nucleus of his *zamīndārī*. A document, dated second regnal year of Emperor Aurangzeb, supplies the genealogy of the

1 *A. N.* III, p. 259 and N. K. Bhattasali—*Bengal Chiefs, etc.*, B.P.P., 1929. Bhowal is North Dacca District. Maheswardi is south-east of the Kishorgonj Subdivision of Mymensingh District.

2 K. P. Sen—*Rajmala*; N. K. Bhattasali—*Bengal Chiefs*, B. P. P., 1929.

3 A.N., III, p. 260; B.P.P., 1928, p. 35.

Ghāzīz of Bhowal.[1]

- Faḍl Ghāzī
  - Bahādur
    - Sona
      - Anwār
        - Hira
  - Mahtab
    - Daulat
    - Aḥmad
    - Nūr
  - Faḍil

It appears from this document that Bahādur Ghāzī son of Faḍl Ghāzī, obtained the settlement of the *pargana* of Bhowal from Emperor Akbar on condition that he would maintain for the Emperor 35 war-boats of *Sundar* and *Kosa* class at an annual expenditure of Rs. 48,379. In the early years of the reign of Jahāngīr, Bahādur Ghāzī as well as other Ghāzīs, such as Sona Ghāzī of Sarail and Anwār Ghāzī of Baniachung (in Habigonj sub-division of Sylhet District) are found fighting as allies of Mūsa Khān against the Mughals.[2] It is thought that, besides the Ghāzīs of the main line, there were others, such as Chand Ghāzī, Sulṭān Ghāzī, Qāsim Ghāzī, Salīm Ghāzī and Talā Ghāzī who gave their names to the *paraganas* of Chandpratap, Sultanpratap, Qasimpur, Salimpratap and Talipabad.[3] According to *Bahāristān*, Binod (Nabud) Rai was the *zamīndār* of Bhowal in the time of Islām Khān's campaign against the *Bara Bhuyans*.[4] This suggests that the Ghāzīs lost much of their estates in Bhowal towards the close of the reign of Emperor Akbar.

1 B. P. P., 1928, p. 35 and James Wise—*Bara Bhuyans*, JASB, 1874.

2 *Bahāristān*, I, p. 88, p. 163, p. 57 and p. 105.

3 N. K. Bhattasali—*Bengal Chiefs, etc.*, 1928, p. 35.

4 *Bahāristān*, I, p. 33 and 57-8.

Majlis Dilāwar and Majlis Quṭb (misspelt Pratap) are mentioned in *Akbarnāma* as the *zamīndārs* of East Bengal, who compelled the Mughal forces of Khān Jahān to retreat to Bhowal in 1578 A. D.[1] These *zamīndārs* flourished during the time of the Afghān rule and hence they could fight successfully against the veteran Mughal general and his army immediately after the battle of Rajmahal. Their *zamīndārīes* are located in the vicinity of Kastal, i.e., Joanshahi and Khaliajuri, the modern Astagram and its northern regions respectively.[2] In the early years of Jahāngīr's reign, Majlis Quṭb is found in possession of Fathabad (Faridpur) and *Bahāristān* refers to him as a *zamīndār* of that place.[3] It is known from *Akbarnāma* that Fathabad was given as a *jagir* to the Mughal Officer Murād Khān and he lived there with his family. Mukundaram was the *zamīndār* of Bhusna (20 miles south-west of Faridpur town, just on the border of the Jessore district). After the death of Murād Khān in 1589 A. D., Mukundaram invited the sons of that Mughal officer to a feast and treacherously killed them. He thus seized Fathabad.[4] It is probable that Majlis Quṭb and other rebel *zamīndārs* joined in this treacherous transaction of Mukundaram and the territory of Fathabad was apportioned to Majlis Quṭb. Majlis Quṭb fought as a staunch ally of other *zamīndārs* against the Mughals. The above facts prove that Majlis Quṭb as well as Mukundaram of Bhusna were *zamīndārs* from the pre-Mughal times.

Srihari Vikaramaditya laid the foundation of the *zamīndārī* of Jessore at the time of Dāud Karranī. According to *Jessore-Khulner Itihasha*,[5] Dāud granted to his favourite

1 *A. N.*, III, p. 259.

2 *A. N.*, III, p. 260 and N.K. Bhattasali—*Bengal Chiefs*, B.P.P., 1929.

3 *Bahāristān*, I, p. 59.

4 *A. N.*, III. p. 320.

5 S. C. Mitra—*Jessore-Khulner Itihasha*, p. 62.

minister Srihari, the Jessore *zamīndārī*, as its former *zamīndār* Chand Khān Maslanda, who was probably a descendant of one of the followers of Khān Jahān Khān, died without an issue. In the days of the misfortunes of Dāud, Srihari enriched himself with his master's wealth and treasure and enhanced the prosperity of his *zamīndārī*. By his treachery to Dāud, he got the favour of the Mughal general Khān Jahān and was left undisturbed in the possession of the *zamīndārī*. After Srihari's death his son Pratapaditya succeeded to the *zamīndāri*. Pratapaditya was an ally of 'Isa Khān, the leader of the *Bara Bhuyans* in the struggle against the establishment of Mughal rule in Bengal. But when Islām Khān launched campaings against the Bengal *zamīndārs*, Pratapaditya did not join in the alliance of 'Isa Khān's son Mūsa Khān, and submitted to the authority of Emperor Jahāngīr. Later on he became hostile, but was defeated and taken prisoner to Dacca.

Another great *zamīndārī* is found existing from the time of the Mughal conquest of Bengal in the reign of Akbar. This was the *zamīndārī* of Sripur in Vikrampur under Chand Rai and Kedar Rai. Ralph Fitch, who visited Sripur in 1583 A. D., found Chand Rai ruling there.[1] This English traveller referred to him as a rebel against Emperor Akbar. Nothing definitely is known about the time of the origin of this *zamīndār* family. It is however certain that the family had its origin in the pre-Mughal period. According to the family tradition,[2] Nim Rai was the founder of this *zamīndārī*. He migrated from Karnat and settled at Ara-Phulbari in Vikrampur 150 years before the reign of Emperor Akbar.

1 Ralph Fitch in *Purchas His Pilgrims*, X, p. 184.

2 Dr. Wise—*Bara Bhuyans*, JASB, 1874, p. 202.

He acquired a *zamīndārī* and obtained the sanction of the ruling monarch. Chand Rai and Kedar Rai were his descendants. They however flourished in the period of the Karranī sultanate in Bengal, and became so powerful as to defy the Mughal rule after the fall of Dāud.

Kandarpanarain of Chandradvip (Barisal) was one of the powerful *zamīndārs* of the Afghān period. He traces his origin from Dhanujmardhana and his grandfather was Parmanand Rai. His son Ramchandra was the son-in-law of Pratapaditya of Jessore. The Jesuit missionary Melchoir da Fonseca visited Chandradvip and met the young *zamīndār* Ram Chandra in his capital at Kachua (near Barisal).[1]

Rajmala refers to the *zamīndār* of Bhulua (Noakhali) as one of the '*Bara Bangalas*', meaning *Bara Bhuyans* or twelve chiefs. The Bhulua *zamīndār* supplied 1,000 labour, like 'Isa Khān and other great *zamīndārs*, to Amarmanikya, king of Tripura, to help him in the construction of a tank in 1578-80 A. D.[2] The Bhulua was thus an important *zamīndārī* in the opening years of Akbar's reign in Bengal. This proves that it was in a prosperous condition in the time of the Karranī Afghān rulers. Laskshmanmanikya, the *zamīndār* of Bhulua, was a contemporary of both Amarmanikya and Ramchandra. He had quarrels with the *zamīndār* of Chandradvip. Once Ram Chandra invaded Bhulua with a navy. He took Lakshmanmnikya prisoner and executed him.

The most powerful and influential of the *Bara Bhuyans* was Masnad-i-'Alī 'Isa Khān of Sonargaon. His father Sulaimān was originally a Hindu, belonging to a tribe of Bais

1 *History of Bengal* (D. U.), II, p. 359.
2 K. P. Sen—*Rajmala*, II. p. 80.

Rajputs of Baiswara in Oudh.[1] His early name was Kalidas. Kalidas came to Gaur in search of fortune and got a job in the revenue department of the Saiyid sulṭāns. By merit he rose to the position of the finance minister. It is said that Kalidas used to give away in charity to the Brahmins golden elephants and earned the title of *Gazdānī*. Afterwards he accepted Islām and was named Sulaimān Khān.[2] Sulaimān married a daughter of Sulṭān Ghiyāṭh al-Dīn, the last ruler of the Saiyid sultanate of Bengal.[3] After the fall of this dynasty at the hands of Sher Shāh, Sulaimān retreated to *Bhati* in Eastern Bengal and organised a rebellion there against the newly-established Afghān rule, with the support of the nobles of the ousted royal family. After several contests, Tāj Khān and Dariyā Khān, the generals of Islām Shāh, defeated and killed Sulaimān and sold his two sons 'Isa and Mūsa, whom they captured, to merchants. When in 1564 Tāj Khān became the ruler of Bengal, 'Isa Khān's maternal uncle Quṭb-al-Dīn won Tāj Khān's favour by means of good service and brought back his nephews from Turan.[4] 'Isa Khān was at that time a young man of about twenty-five.[5]

It was because of the good grace of the Karranī Afghān ruler Tāj Khān that 'Isa Khān was recovered and he obtained an estate in *Bhati*. 'Isa Khān thus began his career as a feudatory of the Karranī Afghān rulers, and by his ripe judgment and deliberation soon made himself a powerful *zamīndār*

1 D. C. Sen—*Eastern Bengal Ballads*, II, p. 304; Dr. Wise—*Bara Bhuyans*, JASB, 1878; A. N. III, p. 432.

2 Ibid.

3 A. Rahim—*A* Bengali Warrior, published in *Bengali Literary Review* (Karachi University), pp. 27-28.

4 *A. N.*, III, pp. 432-3.

5 N. K. Bhattasali—*Bengal Chiefs*, B.P.P., 1929.

in the Sonargaon area.[1] *Rajmala* records that the "Twelve Chiefs" of Bengal helped Dāud Karranī in 1573 A. D. in his expedition in Chittagong against Udayamanikya, the king of Tripura.[2] 'Isa Khān, who contested the mighty forces of the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1575 A. D,[3] was certainly one of the *Bara Bhuyans* of Bengal by 1573 A.D. It is known from *Akbarnāma* that when the death of the Mughal general Mun'im Khān in October 1575 was noised abroad, Dāud Karranī and 'Isa Khān made a simultaneous attack on the Mughals in the west and east. Dāud rose in Orissa and occupied North and West Bengal and 'Isa Khān fell upon the imperial *nawara* in the eastern waters.[4] 'Isa Khān thus helped the Karranī ruler in his struggle against his enemies, the Mughals, as well as the king of Tripura. This proves that he was devoted and loyal to Dāud Karranī. There is further evidence of his loyalty to the Karranī rulers in the writings of Abūl Faḍl, who observes, " He ('Isa Khān) rendered service to them (the rulers of Bengal) and sent them presents, though he refrained from waiting upon them.[5] "The rulers to whom he rendered service could be no other than the Karranīs. 'Isa Khān never rendered any service to Emperor Akbar. On the contrary, he defied the Mughal Emperor right from the beginning. It was in recognition of his services that Dāud Karranī conferred on him the title of Masnad-i-'Alī.[6]

'Isa 'Khān began as a small *zamīndār* of Sarail (north-west Tippera) and, in the course of a few years, he extended

1 *A. N.* III, p. 432.
2 K. P. Sen—*Rajmala*, II, p. 71.
3 *A. N.* III, p. 161.
4 *Ibid.*
5 *A. N.* III, p. 432.
6 A. Rahim—A Bengali Warrior, published in *Bengali Literary Review* (Karachi University), pt. II, No. 1, pp. 30-34.

his *zamīndārī* to include the Sonargaon region, and shifted his capital to Katrabu and then to Sonargaon. He then seized the fort of Jangalbari from the possession of the Koch king.[1] By 1584 'Isa Khān became the master of the territories comprising Western Sylhet and Tippera, Eastern Dacca and Mymensingh districts. He even extended his jurisdiction upto the eastern bank of the Jumna.[2]

'Isa Khān remained a loyal vassal of the Afghān rulers down to the end of the Karranī sultanate. He did not owe any allegiance to the Mughal Emperor after the fall of the family of his benefactors. On the other hand, he ruled as an independent lord in his vast *zamīndārī* and fought in alliance with other great *zamīndārs* of Bengal against the Mughal generals. He was the leader of the *Bara Bhuyans* and organiser of a struggle for independence of the *zamīndārs* against the Mughal Empire. So Abūl Faḍl writes that 'Isa Khān made the *Bara Bhuyans* subject to himself.[3] Ralph Fitch also refers to him as the chief king of Eastern Bengal and the chief of the other kings, who were rebels against Emperor Akbar.[4] 'Isa Khān's relations with the other *Bara Bhuyans* was not that of a suzerain and vassals, but of a leader of the equals in the struggle for independence. As he was a man of ripe judgment and stubborn fighter for the cause of the *zamīndārs*, his advice was sought for and respected by them. This enabled him in establishing some influence over them. Indeed it was his shrewdness that saved the *zamīndārs* against the Mughal generals as well as from many internal troubles. 'Isa Khān rescued Kedar Rai of Sripur from the hands of the Afghān chiefs, Sulaimān and Uthmān. He settled the dispute

1 A. Rahim—A Bengali Warrior, pp. 34-6.

2 *Ibid*, p. 42.

3 *A. N.*, III, p. 432.

4 Cited in Dasgupta's *Bengal in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 144.

between them, appointing Sulaimān as Kedar Rai's general and himself gave an estate to U<u>th</u>mān in his territory in Bukainagar.[1] Again in 1595 A.D., being defeated by Man Singh, Kedar Rai took shelter at Sonargaon with 'Isa <u>Kh</u>ān. 'Isa <u>Kh</u>ān also graced by his presence many festivities at the court of Pratapaditya of Jessore.[2] These illustrate that 'Isa <u>Kh</u>ān held a position of honour and influence at the courts of the *Bara Bhuyans*. It was under his direction and guidance that they fought against the mighty Mu<u>gh</u>al Emperor Akbar and maintained their independence for a generation. The death of 'Isa <u>Kh</u>ān in 1599 was an irreparable loss to the Bengal *zamīndārs*. In the absence of such a capable organiser, wise guide and energetic leader, the solidarity and morale of the *zamīndārs* suffered a great setback. Being thus weakened, they succumbed to the great Mu<u>gh</u>al power in the course of a few years.

There were many other *zamīndārs* in Bengal and the references of a few of them are available in *Bahāristān-i-Ghāybī*. Several of them had their origin after the fall of the Karranī sultanate. The Af<u>gh</u>ān chief U<u>th</u>mān and his brothers, being dispossessed of Orissa by Man Singh in 1592 A.D., took shelter first with Kedar Rai of Sripur and then were given a *zamīndāri* by 'Isa <u>Kh</u>ān in Bukainagar. Bāyazīd Karranī, another Af<u>gh</u>ān chief, founded a zamīndārī in Sylhet about this time.[3] Ma'sum Kābulī, who was an influential Mu<u>gh</u>al noble, retreated to Eastern Bengal after the unsuccessful Bengal-Bihar rebellion in 1579 A. D. and established a state in the Chatmohar locality of Pabna District.[4]

1 *A. N.*, III, p. 632 and p. 711.

2 D. C. Sen—*Brihat Banga*, introduction.

3 *Bahāristān*, I, p. 160.

4 An inscription at Chatmohar refers to Ma'sum Kābulī as an independent sulṭān. It is dated 989 H./1581 A.D.

He contracted friendship and alliance with 'Isa Khān and fought against the imperial generals. *Bahāristān* refers to his son, Mīrzā Mun'im, as one of the *Bara Bhuyans*.[1]

Besides the powerful zamīndārs, Mūsa Khān, son of 'Isa Khān, Anantamanikya, son of Lakshmanmanikya, Sakrajit, son of Mukundaram, and Mīrzā Mun'im, son of Ma'sum Kābulī, the names of the following *zamīndārs* are also available in *Bahāristān-i-Ghāybī*:

1. Shams Khān, *zamīndār* of Birbhum.[2]
2. Bar Khurdar, *zamīndār* of Alaipur (south east of Putia in Rajshahi District).[3]
3. Ananta and Pitambar, *zamīndārs* of Chiliajuwar (in Bhaturiabazu pargana).[4]
4. Shaikh Pīr, son of Ḥājī Bakaul.
5. Ḥājī Shams al-Dīn Baghdādī.
6. Pahlwān, *zamīndār* of Matang (somewhere near Taraf, i.e. south-west of Sylhet District).
7. Dariyā Khān, son of 'Ālam Khān.
8. Madhava Rai, *zamīndār* of Khalsi (near Jafargonj at the origin of the Dhaleswari from the Ganges).
9. Binod Rai, *zamīndār* of Chandpratap (in Manickgonj sub-division of Dacca District).
10. Raja Rai, *zamīndār* of Shahzadpur in Pabna District.[5]

1 *Bahāristān*, I, p. 16.
2 Ibid., p. 15.
3 Ibid., pp. 123-34.
4 Ibid.
5 *Bahāristān*, I, p. 57.

There is strong reason to believe that some of these above *zamīndārs*, particularly Shaikh Pīr and Dariyā Khān continued their existence from the time of the Afghān rule in Bengal. Shaikh Pīr and Dariyā Khān have been mentioned as sons of *zamīndārs*. As such they enjoyed their respective *zamīndārīes* at least for two generations. *Bahāristān* records of them in 1608 A. D. If two generations are taken into account, these *zamīndārīes* were in existence in the middle of the sixteenth century and that was the period of the Afghān rule in this province.

Most of the *zamīndārīes*, which are found in the time of Emperor Akbar and Jahāngīr, either originated during the Afghān rule or flourished in that period. The *zamīndārs* prospered so much under the Afghāns that they came to occupy a place of great importance and influence in the political life of Bengal and the names, *Bara Bangala*, *Dadasha Bangala* and *Bara Bhuyans*, which were associated with them, illustrate the position and power they enjoyed in the state and society of the time. The feudal character of the Afghān system of political and social organisation largely accounted for the rise of the *zamīndārs* to such prominence. The Afghān rulers favoured the growth of the *zamīndāries*, as they preferred the government by *jagirs* as the most convenient one to them. In view of the rebellion of his governor and the distance of Bengal from the seat of the imperial authority at Delhi, even Sher Shāh, who was opposed to the system of feudal government, adopted this expedient in the administration of this province.

The *Bara Bhuyans*, who thus owed their prosperity to the Afghān rulers, were naturally grateful and loyal to their benefactors. They rendered them military service whenever they were called upon to do so by their Afghān suzerains. It is known from *Rajmala* that the *Bara Bhuyans* joined as

loyal vassals with their forces in the Chittagong expedition of Dāud Karranī against Udayamanikya, the ruler of Tripura, in 1573 A. D.[1] The writings of Abūl Faḍl confirms that these *zamīndārs* were attached to Dāud Karranī in loyalty and served him faithfully in the hours of his need. 'Isa Khān and other landlords fought against the Mughals for the interest of the Afghān sultanate. They fell upon the Mughal officers and forces in East Bengal when Dāud attacked the Mughals in North and West Bengal after the death of Mun'im Khān.[2] This shows that the *Bara Bhuyans* cooperated with their suzerain by their simultaneous rising against the Mughals.

The *Bara Bhuyans* were thus a significant contribution of the Afghān rule to Bengal. They passed as a legacy to the Mughal rule in this province. But they proved a very dangerous legacy to the new rulers. Strong in the possession of extensive territories and resources of the province and master of their own land and naval forces, arms and ammunitions, the *Bara Bhuyans* defied the Mughal authority and managed the affairs of their *zamīndārīes* as independent rulers. They represented the spirit of independence which characterised the Bengali, people from the early times. Bengal was always opposed to the sovereignty of Northern India and asserted independence every time the authority of Delhi was imposed on it. The *Bara Bhuyans* maintained this tradition of the political life of Bengal and stood against the attempt of the Mughal Emperor Akbar to establish the

1 K. P. Sen—Rajmala, p. 71.

পিরোজ খাঁ আন্নি আর জামাল খাঁ পন্নি।
চট্টলে পাঠাইল গৌড়ে তারা যোদ্ধা জানি।।
দ্বাদশ বাঙ্গালা দিল তাহার সহিত।
মেহার কূল গড়ে যুদ্ধ হয়ে বিপরীত।

2 *A. N.* III, p. 131 and 432.

authority of Delhi over their province.

The *Bara Bhuyans* also represented the fighting quality of the Bengali peoples. Men like 'Isa Khān and others excelled in military organisation and consummate generalship. They developed well-trained and well-disciplined land and naval force, and fought with advantage against the vast forces of the veteran Mughal generals, Khān Jahān, Shāhbāz Khān, Sādiq Khān and Man Singh. This is indeed a distinction to the shrewd generalship of the Bengali warriors. The Bengali soldiers achieved successes, particularly in naval engagements with the Mughals and established their superiority in naval warfare over the enemy forces.

The Afghān rule thus afforded an opportunity to the Bengali chiefs to exhibit their talent for civil and military organisation and to leave behind a noteworthy record of their fighting qualities in the history of Bengal. The *Bara Bhuyans* added a new social element and cultural force to the province. They supplied a class of influential aristocracy to the Bengali people and contributed to the vigour and progress of the society in many ways.

If they are studied in a different light, the *Bara Bhuyans* appear as a disintegrating force in the history of Bengal. Their independent existence in their respective *zamīndārīes* was a negation of the political unity and order in the province. They preferred the rise of many petty states in place of one political union and this ran counter to the tradition of Muslim rule in Bengal. This political disintegration retarded the healthy growth of the society. The love of the *Bara Bhuyans* for their local patriotism and their consequent struggle against the forces of a greater political union represented by the Mughal rulers accounted for disorder and

confusion in this province for more than a generation.

Progress of Bengali :

The Afghān rule in Bengal was productive in the development of the intellectual attainments of the people and of the social institutions of the province. The Afghān rulers identified themselves with the interests of the local people and helped in their progress in various ways. They gave a distinctive status to the Bengali language and contributed to its popularisation. The Bengali inscriptions on the cannons of this period illustrate this fact. They followed the patronising attitude of the earlier Muslim rulers of Bengal towards the men of letters and as a result there was an unusual prosperity of the Bengali literature in the period.

During the Afghān rule, several Muslim poets made remarkable contribution to the Bengali literature. Faiḍ Allāh wrote a large number of poetical works, *Gurakshavijaya*, *Ghazivijaya*, *Satyapir Panchali*, *Zainaler Chautisha* and *Ragmala*, a book on music. By virtue of his wide knowledge in various subjects and excellent compositions, Faiḍ Allāh is rightly entitled to a place of great distinction in the history of the Bengali literature. Daulat Wazīr Bahrām was another talented Muslim poet of the time. His epic work, *Laila-Majnū*, may be regarded as a classic in the Bengali literature of Muslim Bengal. Another noteworthy Muslim poet of the period was Dona Ghāzī, who composed the epic, *Saiful Muluk Badiuzzaman*.

The Vaishnava movement which flourished during this period provided great stimulus to the enrichment of the Bengali literature. Among the host of the Vaishnava poets, the names of a distinguished ones may be mentioned. Jayananda (born 1531 A. D.), the author of *Chaitanyamangala*, Luchanadas (born 1523 A. D.), the compiler of another work

of the same name, and Brindabandas (1518-89 A. D.), the poet of the famous Vaishnava work *Sri-Chaitanya Bhagavata*, shed their lustre in the reign of the Afghāns. It was also a glorious period of the Manasa Kavyas and Chandi Kavyas. Dvij Bansibadan,[1] and Sasthilbar[2] composed their Manasamangala Kavyas. The most illustrious poet of the time was however Kavi Kankan Mukundaram Chakravarti, the author of *Chandi Kavya*. He is regarded as one of the greatest poets of the Bengali literature. There were many other poets of lesser renown who contributed to the prosperity of Bengali in the time of the Afghān rule in this province.

1 In *Manasamangala* of Bansidas, also called Bansibadan, there is mention of the *Pathans* in Bengal. The '*Pathan*' name was used in the 16th century when they established their rule in Bengal.

তার সঙ্গে সাজি আইল হাজার পাঠান।

D. C. Sen—*Banga Sahitya Parichaya*, pt. I, pp. 216-17.

2 In *Manasamangala* of Sasthibar, we find reference of indigenous smoking pipe '*arbelā*'. Smoking by pipe became common after the coming of the Portuguese in Bengal, i.e. in the Afghān period.

চৌদ্দ শত দরবেশ চলে আরবেলা হাতে।

D .C. Sen—*Banga Sahitya Parichaya*, pt. I, p. 254.

CHAPTER X

THE POSITION OF THE AFGHĀNS UNDER THE MUGHALS DOWN TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF AKBAR

In the sixteenth century, the general attitude of the Afghāns towards the Mughals was one of hostility. This was because the self-willed Afghān chiefs, fresh from the enjoyment of privileges and accustomed to a life of turbulence and feud, could neither reconcile themselves to the loss of their sovereignty nor submit easily as a peaceful population of the Mughal empire. Bābur and Humāyun sought to win them over by following a conciliatory policy. This policy however reacted against the Mughal conquerors and contributed to their expulsion from India in 1540.

In the reign of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605), the relation between the Afghāns and Mughals may be summed up as one of hostility and distrust. With a few exceptions, the Afghāns as a body remained hostile to Akbar until they lost Bihar and Bengal in 1576. After that many of the Afghāns reconciled themselves to the Mughal rule. But Empror Akbar could not forget their past conduct to his father and to himself and, throughout his reign, he followed a policy of distrust towards them, though many of them served him with loyalty and gave their toil and blood for his empire.

Bābur and the Afghāns:

Under Bābur (1526-30) and Humāyun (1530-40), the Mughals lived to win over the Afghāns to acceptance of their rule in Northern India. In his *Memoirs*, Bābur claims that he showed the Afghān nobles greater kindness and

favour than they could claim by right.[1] Abūl Faḍl's *Akbar-nāma* supports Bābur's contention. He says, after the conquest of India, Bābur treated everyone great or small with kindness and even the mother, children, dependents and relations of Ibrāhīm Lodī received his favours in the form of *jagirs*, allowances and pensions.[2] Badāunī's view also agrees with that of Bābur and Abūl Faḍl.[3] It is a fact that Bābur did really follow a conciliatory policy towards the Afghāns. In this policy, he was indeed guided by the need to stabilise his newly acquired empire. But whatever might have been his motive, it has to be said that, considering the standards of the time and the treatment normally meted out by the victor to the vanquished, Bābur was remarkably humane and generous to the Afghāns.

The first step in Bābur's policy, taken even before his conquest of India, was his marriage with an Afghān lady named Bībī Mubārika, the daughter of a Yusufzai chief Malik Shāh Manṣūr.[4] In 1524 after the conquest of the Panjab, he appointed 'Alā al-Dīn 'Ālam Khān Lodī, the uncle of Ibrāhīm Lodī, and Dilāwar Khān Lodī, a son of Daulat Khān Lodī, as governors of Dipalpur and Sultanpur respecttively.[5] He even helped the former in his attempt to obtain the throne of Delhi.[6] It was only when 'Ālam Khān had proved his utter incompetence as an organiser and general, that Bābur decided to fight for the throne of Delhi himself. Bābur especially favoured Dilāwar Khān Lodī whom he honoured with the title of Khān Khānān, the highest title

1 *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*, 527 ; *B. N.*, II, p. 527.
2 *A. N.*, II, pp. 98-9.
3 *B.*, I, p. 337.
4 *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*, 379 ; *B. N.*, I, p. 375.
5 *B. N.*, I, pp. 442-3 ; *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. II.
6 *B. N.*, I, p. 444.

in the Indian Muslim court.[1]

Among the examples of Bābur's favours to the Afghāns was his conferment upon the mother of Ibrāhīm Lodī of a *pargana* worth seven lacs of double *dams*,[2] equivalent to rupees thirtyfive thousands a year. He also favoured the Afghān chiefs, who submitted to his rule, with *jagirs*, money and suitable posts in the imperial service. Fīrūz Khān Sarang-khānī received a *jagir* in Jaunpur and one crore forty-six lac and five thousand rupees.[3] Bāyazīd Farmulī[4] obtained the government of Oudh and a crore of rupees. Bābur also gave Maḥmud Khān Lohānī the government of Ghazipur and ninety thousand rupees.[5] He appointed Shāh Muḥammad Farmulī as governor of Saran.[6]

Bābur favoured Fatḥ Khān Sarwānī with Kara, the title of Khān Jahān and one crore sixty lac rupees.[7] Biban Shāhūkhail,[8] Malikdād Karranī[9] and Yahyā Lohānī[10] were admitted into the imperial service. Niẓām Khān Miyāna and his brother 'Ālam Khān, Tātār Khān Sarangkhānī of Gwalior, Muḥammad Zaitūn and other chiefs received royal favours.[11] Bābur had also been generous to the Lohānī and

1 *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*, 572 ; *B. N.*, II, p. 567 ; *Tūz.*, 42.

2 *Ibid*, 478 ; *B. N.*, II, p. 478 ; *Tūz*, 19; *A. N.*, I, p. 98.

3 *Ibid.*, 527 ; *B. N.*, II, p. 527; *T.*, II, p. 19.

4 Bāyazīd was brother of Mustafa Farmulī, the husband of Fath Malika, the daughter of Miyān Muḥammad Farmulī called Kalā Pahār, a noble of the Lodī sulṭāns. *'Abbas*, 10, 51a-b ; BM., 34b.

5 *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*, 527, 530 and 550; *B.N.*, II, p. 527, 530 and 544; *A. N.* II, p. 102 and 104.

6 *B.N.*, II, p. 675.

7 *Wāqi'āt-i-Baburī*, 537; *B. N.*, 537.

8 *Ibid*, 446; *B. N.*, 464 and 466.

9 *Ibid*, 478; *B. N.*, 540,

10 *Ibid*, 682-3; *B. N.*, 676.

11 *B.N.*, 11, pp. 539-40; *A.N.*, I, pp. 104-5.

Sūr Afghāns. The Lohānī chief Jalāl Khān was left undisturbed in Bihar on his promise to be loyal to the Mughal throne and pay regular tribute to the imperial treasury.[1] Sher Khān Sūr also retained his possessions in Sahsaram.[2] Bābur admitted about eight thousand Lohānīs to the imperial service.[3]

Furthermore, Bābur was lenient towards the rebel Afghāns. He did not treat harshly Ibrāhīm Lodī's mother, who, in spite of his favours, made an attempt on his life by having a cook poison his food.[4] Biban Shāhūkhail broke the court etiquette by sitting in the royal presence, while all the great nobles Mīr Khalīfa, Sulṭān Junaid Barlās, 'Alā al-Dīn 'Ālam Khān Lodī, Dilāwar Khān Lodī and others used to stand in the presence of the Emperor. Although disgusted, Bābur however did not enforce his court etiquette on the rustic Afghān chief.[5] This shows his eagerness to conciliate the Afghāns.

Badāunī writes, 'The *amīrs* of India, notwithstanding his (Bābur's) conciliating behaviour and efforts to improve their fortunes, did not yield obedience to him and behaved like unruly savages."[6] We might not agree with Badāunī that Bābur wanted to impove the fortunes of the Afghān chiefs, but it cannot be denied that Bābur accorded them generous treatment. But the Afghān chiefs, who had tasted the privileges of power, could not remain content with the favours bestowed on them by the Mughal Emperor. They yearned for the full privileges of sovereignty and deserted the Mughal service.

1 *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*, 682-3; *B. N.*, II, p. 676.
2 *Ibid*, 658-9; *B.N.*, II, p. 652; 'Abbās, 10, 28a; *BM.*, *19*b.
3 *Ibid*, 683; *B. N.*, 676.
4 *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*, 542; *B.N.*, II, p. 542; *A. N.*, I, p. 104.
5 *Ibid*, 466; *B. N.*, II, p. 466.
6 *B.*, I, p. 337.

Biban,[1] Bāyazid[2] and Fatḥ Khān Sarwānī[3] deserted from Bābur's service. Biban and Bāyazīd formed a confederacy with Maḥmūd Lodī, the brother of Ibrāhīm Lodī, with the intention of driving out the Mughals from India. On March 12, 1528, they fought an unsuccessful battle against Bābur near the Ghogra.[4] Sher Khān Sūr was also obliged to join them in this battle.[5]

A few of the Afghān chiefs had gone to Bengal and they incited the Bengali king Naṣrat Shāh against Bābur.[6] The Afghāns also joined Rana Sanga of Mewar and fought against the Mughals in the battle of Khanwa.[7]

Humāyun and the Afghāns :

Humāyun faithfully followed the Afghān policy of his father. In his reign, Dilāwar Khān Khān Khānān rose to the position of a minister. Of all the Afghān chiefs it was Dilāwar Khān who remained sincerely attached to Humāyun and even advised him not to trust too much his fellow Afghān chiefs. In 1536, he said to Humāyun, "It is not wise to neglect Sher Khān Sūr, for he is rebelliously inclined and well understands all matters pertaining to government."[8] Humāyun, however, neglected Sher Khān and marched against him only when he had gained strength and besieged Gaur. Though Dilāwar Khān advised him to advance immediately to

[1] *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*, 528; *B. N.*, II, p. 468.

[2] & [3] *Ibid*, 658-9; *B.N.* p. 652 and 589.
Fath Khān Sarwānī deserted because Bābur did not confer on him his father's title of A'ẓam Humāyun. As the name of Bābur's son was Humāyun he could not make Fath Khān greater Humāyun. *B. N.*, II, p. 537.

[4] *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*, 658-9 *B. N.*, II, p. 652.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] F., II, p. 587; *Shāhī*, 99.

[7] *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*, 569; *B.N.*, 562; *A.N.*, I, p. 106; 'Abbās, E., IV, 346-7.

[8] 'Abbās, 10, 53b; BM., 36a-b.

Gaur,[1] he wasted in the siege and occupation of Chunar six months and thus gave time to Sher Khān to capture Gaur and strengthen his power with the wealth of Bengal.

On his return march from Gaur in 1539, Humāyun sent in advance Dilāwar Khān to Munghyr. Sher Khān's general Khwās Khān made a surprise attack on him at Munghyr and took him prisoner.[2] Sher Khān allotted his captive a daily allowance of half a seer of unground barley and executed him after the battle of Chausa.[3]

The Lohānīs and Sūrs of Bihar received generous treatment from Humāyun. Humāyun could have eliminated Sher Khān, a petty chief of Sahsaram in 1532, and could thus avert the greatest calamity of his life. But he left him in the undisturbed possession of his estates, as he promised to be loyal to his throne and also sent as a security his third son Quṭb Khān and his *vakīl* 'Isa Khān with 500 retainers to his service.[4] It was a great political blunder by Humāyun that he trusted the ambitious Afghān chief Sher Khān, who only a few days previously had joined the confederacy of Biban, Bāyazīd and Maḥmūd Lodī, and fought against him in the battle of Dauroh in 1531.[5] Humāyun was deceived by the show of allegiance by the crafty Afghān chief. In 1535 when Humāyun was fighting against Bahādur Shāh of Gujrat, Quṭb Khān fled from his service.[6]

1 'Abbās 10, 54b-55a; *BM.*, 37a.

2 *Ibid.*, *BM.*, 42b; Jauhar, 31; Tūz., 42.

3 *Ibid.*. 49a-b; 10, 75a.

4 *Ibid.*, 34a; Jauhar, 6; *A.N.*, I, pp. 123-4. Abūl Faḍl mentions the name of Quṭb Khān as 'Abd al-Rashīd.

5 'Abbās, *BM.*, 32b; *E.* IV, 348-9.

6 'Abbās, 10., 75a; *BM.*, 49b; *A.N.*, I, pp. 123-4. After the battle of Chausa, Sher Shāh sent Quṭb Khān to Chanderi to create disturbances for Humāyun. In an engagement at Mandrael, Quṭb Khān was, however, killed.

A few of the Afghān chiefs, who had deserted the Mughal service, joined Bahādur Shāh of Gujrat and incited him against Humāyun. Bahādur Shāh sent Tātār Khān Lodī, a son of 'Alā al-Dīn 'Ālam Khān Lodī,[1] with 40,000 horse to fight the Mughals. Tātār Khān captured Biana. Humāyun's brother, Hindal and Askarī, however, recovered it and defeated and killed him in a battle at Mandrael near Biana in 1534.[2] 'Alā al-Dīn 'Ālam Khān and his Afghān followers also fought for Bahādur Shāh against the Mughals. Humāyun defeated them and captured 'Ālam Khān along with others in the fort of Mandu in June 1535. He was, however, hamstrung and released.[3]

In 1537 after the death of Bahādur Shāh, some of the Afghān chiefs went from Gujrat to Bihar and joined Sher Khān.[4] Strengthened by their adhesion, Sher Khān could indulge in his vision of the restoration of Afghān sovereignty in India. In 1540 his vision was realised at the battle of Kanauj; Humāyun was expelled from India and the Afghān rule was restored in the country.

The restoration of the Afghān sovereignty in India was

1 Considering 'Ālam Khān dangerous due to his pretensions, Bābur confined him in Qila Zafar in Badakhshan. 'Ālam Khān, however, escaped with the help of some Afghān traders and came to the court of Bahādur Shāh. (A. N., I, p. 129; Erskine-*History of India*, II, p. 41.)

2 *T.*, III, pp. 267-8; Abū Turāb-*Tārīkh-i-Gujrāt*, 5.

3 *A. N.*, I, p. 134; Abū Turāb, 19. In the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh III (1538-53), 'Ālam Khān became for a time the *wazīr* and an absolute authority in Gujrat. (*T.*, III, pp. 237-8; Abū Turāb, 43). His absolutism disgusted the sulṭān and the *amīrs*, Saiyid Mubārak Khān and I'timad K., the Ḥabshī chief, Their combined forces made him leave Gujrat and take shelter in Malwa, where Sher Shāh gave him a *jagir* in 1542. After Sher Shāh's death, he had to leave Malwa and come back to Gujrat. Saiyid Mubārak gave him a *jagīr* in Champanir. 'Ālam K. plotted against his benefactor and, being defeated, joined the Fūlādī Afghāns at Patan. They occupied Kari, a possession of I'timad K., who, however, later on defeated them and killed 'Ālam K. (*T.* III, pp. 237-8; *Mir'āt S.*, 271, 275-6, 279; *Mir'āt A.*, I, p. 89.).

4 'Abbās, 10,., 50b; BM., 34b.

made possible by the conciliatory policy of Bābur and Humāyun towards the Afghāns. This policy saved them from being ruined and homeless. It also gave them an opportunity to regain strength and resources. Indeed the Afghāns under Sher Shāh could conquer Gaur and strengthen themselves with the wealth of Bengal only because Bābur and Humāyun had left them in the possession of Bihar. Had they been dispossessed of Bihar it would have been extremely difficult for these homeless people to obtain a foothold and a rallying centre in order to make a bid for the restoration of their lost sovereignty in India.

Akbar and the Afghāns:

The Afghāns lost the sovereignty of India to Humāyun in 1555 and finally to Akbar in 1556. Prudence required their acceptance of the Mughal rule. The proud Afghān chiefs, however, instead of submitting peacefully to the Mughal rule, remained at bottom hostile and created troubles throughout the reign of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605).

The Afghān chronicler 'Abbās Sarwānī relates an incident that reflects the irreconcilable mind of the Afghān chiefs to the rule of the Mughals. 'Isa Khān Ḥujjāb, a great noble of Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh, saved the life of Bairām Khān, when he was caught in his wanderings after the battle of Kanauj. It was because of his intercession that Sher Shāh spared the life of that Mughal noble. Bairām Khān remembered the kindness of 'Isa Khān Ḥujjāb with gratitude and wished to do some favour to him, when he became the practical ruler of the Mughal empire as the regent of the boy Emperor Akbar. Bairām Khān said, "He ('Isa Khān) saved my life ; if he will come to me, I shall feel myself honoured. If I cannot give him more than Sher Shāh,

I shall at least give him his own Sambhal." After the loss of the Afghān empire, 'Isa Khān Ḥujjāb, like many other Afghān chiefs, was living in extreme poverty. He was aged ninety at that time. Many persons suggested to him to go to attend Khān Khānān Bairām Khān. To this 'Isa Khān Ḥujjāb replied, "I will not for any worldly gain wait on the Mughal, nor is it the custom of the sons of Masnad-i-'Alī 'Umar Khān to ask for a return of their favours."[1] This illustrates the typical Afghān mind towards the Mughal conquerors.

In the period from 1556 to 1561, the Afghāns made several attempts to recover their sovereignty. In 1558, the Afghān ex-pretender Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr came out of his refuge in Orissa and advanced to occupy Jaunpur.[2] The Mughal commander 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān, however, forced him to retire to Orissa. Bahādur Shāh of Bengal also fought against Khān Zamān near Jaunpur, but he was beaten back to his own country.[3] In 1561, the Afghāns under Sher Shāh II, the son of Sulṭān 'Ādil, made another attempt to recover their territories; but they failed due to their own indiscipline and the superior generalship of Khān Zamān.[4] The last attempt at a systematic campaign of the Afghāns under Awāz Khān, a son of Islām Shāh, in 1561 for the recovery of their lost position also failed at Andhiabari on the bank of the Son.[5]

After these failures, the Afghāns seem to have realized that the recovery of their power was an impossible task and they retreated to their possessions in Bihar and Bengal.

1 'Abbās (Elliot-Susil publication), p. 103.
2 *A.N.*, II, p. 82.
3 *B.*, II, p. 25.
4 *Ibid*, 48; *A.N.*, II, p. 138-9; *T.*, II, pp. 154; *D.*, BM., 126a.
5 *A.N.*, II, p. 220; *B.*, II, pp. 24-5.

A few adventurous chiefs went to Gujrat and joined their fellow chiefs at Patan. The retreat of the Afghāns from the Mughal occupied territories did not, however, mean the end of their hostility towards the Mughals. Of course, they did not launch any more systematic campaigns against the Mughals, but they did not cease to make trouble for Emperor Akbar whenever they saw the opportunity. Indeed any enemy of the Mughal Emperor was a friend of the Afghāns.

In 1564 when Khān Zamān rebelled in Jaunpur, the Afghāns helped him. Awāz Khān joined him and only deserted to the Mughal forces in 1565 when he found the position of Khān Zamān hopeless in the extreme.[1] Sulaimān Karranī, the ruler of Bengal and Bihar, contracted a friendship with the rebel Mughal viceroy and helped him by sending an army under his generals Ḥasan Khān Batnī, Sulaimān Mankalī and Kālā Pahār.[2]

The Afghāns also joined Rana Pratap of Mewar, the bitterest enemy of Akbar, and fought against the Mughal forces in the battle of Haldighat in 1576. Our historian Badāunī himself was a soldier in this battle and his evidence that the Afghāns fought in the side of the Rajputs cannot be disbelieved. He says that an Afghān chief named Ḥakīm Khān Sūr led a division of Pratap's army at Haldighat.[3]

Ḥājī Khān[4] and other Afghān chiefs, who, after the loss of sovereignty in Northern India, took shelter in Gujrat,

1 *A. N.*, *II*, p. 266.

2 *A.N.*, II, p. 258.

3 *B.*, II, p. 231 and 233.

4 Ḥājī K. at first joined I'timad K. of Gujrat who gave him *jagir* in Kari. In a battle between I'timad K. and Sher K. Fūlādī, he with his forces stood aside out of sympathy for his fellow Afghāns. Being defeated, I'timad K. wanted to seize Ḥājī K., who, however, fled and joined the Fūlādi Afghāns, in 1561.
Mir'āt A., I, pp. 90-1; *Mir'āt S.*, 279-80, 286, 291; *T.*, III, pp. 246-7

remained the uncompromising enemy of the Mughals. So great was their hatred of the Mughals that they killed Bairām Khān, the fallen minister of Akbar, who had halted a while at Patan on his way to Makkah in 1561.[1] It was the Afghāns under the leadership of Sher Khān Fūlādī, who had installed himself as the virtual ruler of Gujrat having the puppet sulṭān Muẕaffar Shāh III in his control,[2] who in practice resisted Emperor Akbar's conquest of Gujrat in 1572 when I'timad Khān and other Gujrati nobles had submitted to the Mughals.[3]

After Emperor Akbar's conquest of Gujrat, the Afghāns did not submit to him. They left the country. Sher Khān Fūlādī took shelter in Surat and his son Muḥammad Khān in the mountains of Idar. In January, 1573 when the Emperor was dealing with the rebellious Mīrzās at Surat Sher Khān Fūlādī, Junaid Karranī, another Afghān adventurous warrior who fled from the Mughal service, and other Afghāns came out of their refuge and created serious disturbance in Patan. Then with a large army they advanced to capture the fort of Patan. They reduced the Mughal commandant of the fort to great straits. The timely arrival of the Mughal general Khān A'ẓam Mīrzā 'Azīz Koka from Ahmadabad and of the Emperor from Surat saved the situation. The Afghāns were defeated. Sher Khān fled to Junagarh and his son with other Afghāns to Idar.[4] Emperor Akbar returned to the capital.

No sooner had the Emperor returned to Fathpur Sikri

[1] *A. N.*, II, p. 131; *B.*, II, p. 45; *Mir'āt A.*, I, p. 93.

[2] *T.*, II, pp. 258-9; *Mir'āt S.*, 303-4. Sikandar was present at the time of the Gujrat campaign.

[3] *A.N.*, III, pp. 5-7; *Abū Turāb*, pp. 54-56. Abū Turāb acted as the envoy of I'timad Khān to Akbar.

[4] *A.N.*, III, p. 26.

than the Afghāns came back to Gujrat and, in collaboration with the Mīrzās, captured some places and besieged Ahmadabad. Badāunī says that Sher Khān Fūlādī and the Mīrzās made a plan that some of them would go to Northern India to incite rebellion against the Emperor and Sher Khān Fūlādī would then besiege Patan.[1] The execution of the plan depended on their capture of Ahmadabad. Accordingly they fell on Ahmadabad and their vigorous attack placed the Mughals in a straitened condition. In despair, Khān A'ẓam appealed for the help of the Emperor.[2] Emperor Akbar personally marched to Gujrat and arrived near Ahmadabad in nine days, covering a distance of six hundred miles. The enemy was surprised and beaten in a battle near Ahmadabad on September 2, 1573.[3]

After this defeat, the Afghāns were dispersed and Gujrat seemed to be free from any further Afghān trouble. Trouble, however, arose again in 1582 when Muẓaffar Shāh managed to escape from the custody of the Mughal officers. He collected an army. With his Afghān followers, Sher Khān Fūlādī came out of the obscure corners where he had been spending his days in misfortune. The Afghān chief assumed the command of a big army and advanced to take possession of Patan from the Mughal officers.[4] Our historian Niẓām al-Dīn, who served under Mīrzā 'Abdur Raḥīm, the Mughal governor of Gujrat, routed Sher Khān Fūlādī and sent him flying back to Ahmadabad.[5] Mīrzā 'Abdur Raḥīm defeated the rebels in a hotly contested battle at Sarkej, three kos from Ahmadabad, on December 31, 1583. Sher Khān Fūlādī

1 *B.*, II, pp. 147-8.
2 *A.N.*, III, p. 41; *B.*, II, pp. 164-5; Abū Turāb, 59.
3 *Ibid.*, 53 and 57; B., II, pp. 167-8.
4 *T.*, II, p. 373; *A.N.*, III, pp. 412-3; *B.*, II, p 329.
5 *Ibid.*, 373-4.

and his Afghāns fled towards Baglana and thence to the Deccan, while Muẓaffar Shāh took shelter in Kathiawar.[1] Thus the Afghāns of Gujrat fought against the Mughals to the last and left the country, instead of submitting themselves to their rule.

In 1576 at the battle of Rajmahal, the Afghāns lost their strongholds in Bihar and Bengal. Even after this, a section of them remained the uncompromising foes of Akbar. They retreated to Orissa and frequently raided the Mughal territories in Bengal and Bihar. At the time of the Bihar-Bengal rebellion and the rebellion of Akbar's brother Mīrzā Ḥakīm[2] in 1579-1581, the Afghāns under the leadership of Qatlū Lohānī took the opportunity to fish in troubled waters and seize some Mughal territories in Bihar and Bengal.[3] The rebellion was, however, suppressed by the Mughal generals and the Afghāns had to fall back on their strongholds in Orissa.

The Afghāns could not long hold Orissa; in 1592, it fell into the hands of the Mughal general Raja Man Singh. The loss of Orissa made the Afghāns homeless wanderers. Even then, a large number of them did not accept Mughal rule, but dispersed themselves in Bengal. They took service under the *Bara Bhuyans*, who had installed themselves as independent rulers in their respective territories after the fall of the Karranī sultanate in 1576.

Qatlū Lohānī's son Sulaimān Khān Lohānī, with his followers, entered the service of Raja Kedar Rai of Sripur.

1 *T.* II. 375-6; *A.N.*, III, p. 424. Niẓām al-Dīn fought in the battle of Sarkej .

2 The Afghāns of Afghanistan supported Ḥakīm as he championed the cause o f orthodox Islām against Akbar whom they considered heretical. *A.N.*, III, pp. 335-7, and 360.

3 *A.N.*. III. pp. 320-1 and 398-9.

In 1596, he died fighting Raja Man Singh.[1] Khwāja Kamāl and Khwāja Jamāl, two brothers of Sulaimān Khān Lohānī, joined the service of Raja Pratapaditya of Jessore[2] and strengthened his position against the Mughals. 'Isa Khān Masnad-i-'Alī, the powerful *zamīndār* of Bhati and the leader of the *Bara Bhuyans* in their struggle against Akbar, made Khwāja 'Uṭhmān, another brother of Sulaimān Lohānī, his ally by the grant of territories in Bukainagar [3] in eastern Mymensingh and western Sylhet districts. 'Uṭhmān and his Afghāns, in alliance with 'Isa Khān, and, after his death with his sons Mūsa and Dāud, challenged the authority of Emperor Akbar in Eastern Bengal. [4] In spite of his best efforts, Akbar failed to subdue them and Bengal, though it was nominally conquered in 1576, remained in fact unconquered until his death in 1605.

Akbar's distrust of the Afghāns :

Akbar thoroughly disliked the Afghāns as a body. In view of their past conduct to Bābur and Humāyun and their hostility towards his own rule, his distrust of them was but natural. Akbar could not certainly forget that the Afghāns had deserted Humāyun and caused his expulsion from India. The spirit of Akbar's distrust of the Afghāns was current in the Mughal empire even in the days of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb and this was noticed by the Venetian traveller Manucci, who observed, [5] "Recollecting what Shera (Sher Shāh) had done to his father Humāyun,—that is he rebelled because he found himself very wealthy—Akbar left it as a law to his descendants that the Pathan should never receive

1 *A.N.*, III, p. 711.

Bahāristān, I, pp. 126-7, 130 and 135-6.

3 *A. N.*, III, p. 632; *Bahāristān*, I, p. 110.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 809; *Bahāristān*, I, pp. 141-2.

5 Manucci, I, p. 147.

higher pay than 4000 rupees a year. That they were not to be appointed governors, and should only be employed as soldiers."

Moreover, Akbar had seen from personal experience that the turbulent Afghān chiefs did not feel comfortable at the Mughal court, because a few of them who, being forced by circumstances, joined his service, proved deserters after a few days. 'Abdur Raḥmān Khān Sūr, the son of Sikandar Khān Sūr, and Ghāzī Khān Tanurī entered Mughal service at the time of the surrender of Mankot by Sikandar Khān Sūr in July, 1557. [1] In 1560 when Bairām Khān rebelled, they left service and created trouble in Sambhal. Being defeated in an engagement, they fled and took shelter with Raja Ram Chand of Panna. The Mughal general Aṣaf Khān, however, defeated them again in a fight and killed many of the Afghāns including Ghāzī Khān Tanurī.[2]

Junaid Karranī, a son of Sulaimān Karranī's brother 'Imād Karranī, was another deserter from Mughal service. In 1566, he fled from his uncle's court and took refuge with Emperor Akbar. According to Abūl Faḍl, the Emperor bestowed princely favours on him and granted him a *jagir* in Hindaun; but Junaid deserted the Mughal service and went to Gujrat.[3] In view of Akbar's distrust of the Afghāns, Abūl Faḍl might be considered to have exaggerated in saying that Junaid received princely favours from the Emperor; but it is true that the Afghān chief was admitted to the imperial service and he deserted it only after a few days. Junaid joined his fellow Afghāns in Gujrat and, in 1572-3, fought against the Mughal invaders. After Akbar's occupation of Gujrat, he went to Bihar and caused enormous troubles

1 *A. N.*, II, p. 59; *T.*, II, pp. 134-5; Briggs-*F.*, II, p. 190.

2 *Ibid.*, 98, 148 and 183.

3 *A. N.*, II, p. 284. Abūl Faḍl says that Junaid fled owing to a groundless apprehension.

for the Mughals.[1] Junaid afterwards joined his cousin Dāud Karranī and was killed in the battle of Rajmahal in 1576.[2]

Maḥmūd Khān Sūr,[3] a son of Sikandar Khān Sūr, and Ḥusain,[4] a son of 'Ādil Shāh, also left the service of Emperor Akbar in 1572 and 1574 respectively. The desertion of these Afghān chiefs, in spite of his favours, naturally caused the Emperor's distrust of the Afghāns.

Emperor Akbar's distrust of the Afghāns is revealed in his conduct towards some of the Afghān chiefs. In 1557 when Sikandar Khān Sūr surrendered the fort of Mankot, he was promised Jaunpur in *jagir*, though the territory was yet to be conquered.[5] In 1558, Jaunpur, was, however, conquered; but it was conferred on Khān Zamān and the Afghān chief was sent with a small force to conquer Bengal from his fellow Afghāns and to obtain his *jagīr* there.[6] Badāunī says that in Bengal many accidents befell Sikandar Khān Sūr and that such a position was created that he attached himself again to his friends and died shortly afterwards.[7]

Bāz Bahādur, the ex-king of Malwa, who was induced to join the Mughal court, also did not receive any better treatment. Although nominally he was given a *manṣab* of 1,000, raised later on to 2,000, yet actually he was confined in the fort of Agra until his death.[8] The Mughal historians, except

1 *A. N.*, III, p. 119; *B.*, I, p. 193; *T.*, II, p. 304; *Mir'āt S.* 339a and 341a.

2 *Op. Cit.*, p. 208 and *A.N.*, 181-2.

3 *A. N.*, III, p. 16.

4 *A.N.*, III, p. 102, Ḥusain was later on captured and executed by Mun'im *Khān*.

5 *Op. Cit.*, p. 135; *B.*, II, pp. 18-9.

6 and 7 *Ibid.*

8 *Op. Cit.* p. 140; *B.*, II, pp. 51-2. Badāunī says that Bāz Bahādur obtained release from confinement, but he could not escape his death.

چند گاه محبوس مانده خلاص شد اما چنگ اجل خلاص نیافت

Badāunī, are silent about Bāz Bahādur's fate after he was admitted to the court. They simply mention him as a talented musician and a *manṣabdār* of 2,000 and do not refer to his confinement. It is probable that Abūl Faḍl and Niẓām al-Dīn did not refer to Bāz Bahādur's confinement as it would have injured the reputation of their master. Writing his book in secret, Badāunī, however, stated what he saw with his own eyes.

The reaction of Emperor Akbar to the news of the death of a petty Afghān officer, Daulat Khān Lodī at Ahmadnagar in 1601, expresses his distrust of the Afghāns. The Emperor is said to have remarked, "This day Sher Khān Sūr has departed from the world."[1] This indicates the distrust with which Akbar still regarded the Afghāns even at a time when his empire had reached the zenith of its prosperity and they had ceased to be a political factor in India.

Certain economic measures of Akbar show his distrust of the Afghāns. Badāunī says that, as the *Ṣadr-i-Ṣudur* (Minister in charge of Ecclesiastical affairs and Endowments) of the Emperor from 1556 to 1561 A.D., Shaikh Gadai cancelled the *madad-i-ma'āsh* lands and took away the legacy of the Khānzādas.[2] Evidently by the Khānzādas, Badāunī meant the Afghāns, because in his history we find him often mentioning them as Khāns or Khānzādas and the Mughals as Mīrzās, Chaghtais and Qizilbāshīs. Moreover, the Afghāns had preceded Emperor Akbar and also Abūl Faḍl accused Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh for their lavish grant of lands.[3]

1 *Ma'aiṭhir*, II, p. 6.]

امروز شیر خان سور از عالم رفت -

2 *B.*, II, p. 29.

او قلم نسخ بر اراضی مدد معاش و اوقات خانزادهای قدیم کشید

3 *Ā'īn*, I, d. 296.

So, it may reasonablely be concluded that this land measure of Akbar affected the Afg͟hāns living in his empire.

Further evidence from the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* not only clears whatever doubt there might still persist in the conclusion from Badāunī's statement, but also proves that Emperor Akbar was determined to ruin the well-to-do Afg͟hān families of his empire. Abūl Faḍl writes that, in 1562-63 (971 H.), Emperor Akbar appointed Shaik͟h 'Abd al-Nabī as the *Ṣadr-i-Ṣudūr* of the empire. He then took away all the land grants (*suyūrg͟hāl*) from the Afg͟hāns and *choudhuries* and referred the case of the others to the Shaik͟h, who inquired into and certified their grants.[1] Indeed this incident reveals Akbar's distrust of the Afg͟hāns. He resumed outright the lands of the Afg͟hāns, while he gave the other classes of landholders the benefit of inquiry and confirmation. The motive which actuated Akbar in the resumption of all Afg͟hān lands was certainly to break their economic affluence and to weaken them so that they might not create any trouble in the empire.

Another incident, though small in itself, expresses Akbar's distrust towards the Afg͟hāns. In 1579, some Afg͟hāns came from their country and settled in the Panjab. On a report that they oppressed the people of the locality, Akbar ordered Sa'id K͟hān, the *ṣūbadār* of the Panjab, to have them settled in batches in different places so that they might neither be able to oppress the people nor become vagabonds.[2] The idea in thus scattering the Afg͟hāns over the province

1. *Ā'in*, 1, p. 198.

سیور غال افغانان و چودریان خالصه شد و دیگر مردم را

بتصدیق و تصحیح او گذاشتند -

2. *A.N.*, III, p 247.

was, no doubt, to prevent them from causing any mischief locally.

Emperor Akbar's distrust of the Afghāns is reflected in the writings of his secretary and court historian Abūl Faḍl, who often mentioned them with the epithets of "black fated", "black faced", "brainless", "turbulent", "vagabond", and "wicked"[1] In making such remarks, Abūl Faḍl, who recorded the deeds and thoughts of his royal master, simply gave expression to the feeling of Akbar towards the Afghāns.

A large number of Afghāns entered the Mughal army, particularly after the loss of Bengal and Bihar in 1576. Although they served with devotion and valour, Emperor Akbar did not entrust them with any important post in his government. Malik Mustafa,[2] a brother of Bāz Bahādur, Fatḥ Khān Masnad-i-'Alī, Ḥasan Khān Batnī, Ḥajī Khān, [3] a brother of Khwās Khān, Salīm Khān Kākar,[4] Bābui Mankalī, Saiyid Khān Karranī,[5] Shāhbāz Khān Niyāzī, Ibrāhīm Khān Kākar, Ibrāhīm Khān Miyāna,[6] Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī,[7] Ḥabīb Allāh[8], Fatḥ Khān Sūr, Daulat Khān Lodī, Fatḥ Khān Lodī,[9] Bahādur Khān Qurdār, Salīm Khān Lohānī, 'Isa Khān Maswānī, Sulṭān Sūr, Allahadād Khān Lohānī, Ulugh Khān Lohānī, Nasīr Khān Miyāna, Manū Khān Lohānī, Tāj Khān Lohānī, Sher Khān and others[10] joined Akbar's army and rendered him good service in diffe-

1 *A.N.* II, p. 253, 325 and III, p. 4.
2 *T.*, III, p. 420.
3 *A. N.*, III, p. 24.
4 *Ibid.*, 14; *T.*, II, p. 448.
5 and 6. *Ibid.*, 427 and 623.
7 *Ibid.*, 608-9; *T.*, II, p. 452.
8 *M.*-Elliot V, 67. He was the father of historian Ni'mat Allāh.
9 *A.N.*, *III*, p. 807.
10 *Ibid.*, 650.

rent campaigns of the empire. None of them however, attained any post of dignity and honour in the imperialservice.

While Akbar was very free in his appointments of the Turks, Persians and even Hīndus to responsible posts, he seems to have behaved very differently towards the Afghāns. There were 7 *Vakīls* (Principal Ministers), 10 *Wazīrs* or *Dīwāns* (Ministers of Finance), 15 *Bakhshīs* (Paymasters of the Army) and 8 *Ṣadrs* (Ministers in charge of Ecclesiastical Affairs Endowments) in the reign of Emperor Akbar, but not one of them was an Afghān. The Afghāns were not appointed to governorship or to any other subordinate office in the provincial administration. Although they took part in many of Akbar's campaigns and distinguished themselves, yet they were never entrusted with a major army command.

Moreover, Akbar did not give any of the larger *manṣabs* to the Afghāns. A study of the list of the *manṣabdārs* given in the *Ā'īn* reveals this fact.[2]

Manṣab	Total No. of Manṣabdārs	No. of Afghān Manṣabdārs
5,000	30 (excepting the princes).	None
4,500	2	None
4,000	9	None
3,500	2	None
3,000	17	None

[1] *Ā'īn*, I, p. 232; Blochmann, I, pp. 527-8.

[2] *Ibid*, 223-32; Blochmann, I, pp. 535-8.

Manṣab	Total No, of Manṣab-dārs	No. of Afg͟hān Manṣabdārs
2,500	8	None
2,000	27	2
1,500	7	None
1,250	1	None
1,000	31	4
900	38	None
800	2	None
700	25	None
600	4	None
500	46	None
400	18	1
350	19	None
300	33	1
250	12	None
200	81	1
	412	9

The table shows that of the total number of 412 *manṣabdārs* only 9 Afg͟hāns received *manṣabs*, and those too but lowly ones. Bāz Bahādur, the musician and the ex-king of

Malwa,[1] was the recipient of the *manṣab* of 2,000.[2] Another Afg͟hān named Daulat K͟hān Lodī received this rank. Fattū K͟hān Masnad-i-'Alī,[3] Ḫasan K͟hān Batnī,[4] Bābui Mankalī[5] and Salīm K͟hān Kākar[6] were *manṣabdārs* of 1,000. Raḥmat K͟hān and Shāh Muḥammad, the sons of Fattū K͟hān,[7] and Bahādur K͟hān Qurdār[8] obtained the *manṣab* of 300, 250 and 400 respectively. Ḥasan K͟hān Miyāna, the father of Bahlūl K͟hān Miyāna, who rose to the *manṣab* of 1,500 in the reign of Jahāngīr, has been mentioned as a *mansabadār*, but his actual command has not been given in the *Ā'īn*.[9]

Most of the above mentioned Afg͟hān chiefs, however, rendered distinguished service to Akbar's empire. Fattū K͟hān Masnad-i-'Alī, a noble of Sulṭān 'Aḍil Shāh, joined Mug͟hal service in 1561 after the failure of Sher Shāh II's attempt to recover the lost sovereignty, surrendering the fort of Chunar to Akbar.[10] A valiant soldier, Fattū K͟hān fought the enemies of the Emperor in many a campaign. He took part in suppressing the rebel viceroy K͟hān Zamān in 1565[11]

[1] *Ā'īn*, I, p. 225.

[2] *A. N.*, III, p. 785; *T.*, II, pp. 388-90.

[3] *Badāunī* (II, p. 77) mentions him as a *manṣabdār* of 2,000, but Niẕām al-Dīn (II, 440) says that Fattū died a *manṣabdār* of 1,000. The evidence of Niẕām al-Dīn, who was a *bak͟hshī*, seems more reliable.

[4] Blochmann-*Ā'īn*, I, p. 476.

[5] *Ā'īn*, I, p. 227; Blochmann, I, p. 473; *T.*, II, p. 440.

[6] *Ibid.*, 225; *T.*, II, p. 448.

[7] *Ibid.*, 229; Blochmann, I, p. 528.

[8] *Ibid.*, 228; *T.*, II, p. 456.

[9] Blochmann-*Ā'īn*, I, p. 569.

[10] *A. N.*, II, pp. 149-50; *T.*, II, p. 170; *B.*, II, p. 63.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

and also in quelling the disturbances in the Panjab caused by the advance of ambitious Mīrzā Ḥakīm from Kabul.[1]

Ḥasan Khān Batnī, one of the Afghān chiefs of Sulaimān Karranī, left the service of Dāud Karranī before the fall of Hajipur to Akbar in 1574. The capture of Hajipur and Patna from Dāud was mostly due to his valuable suggestion. When the Mughals had failed to capture the strong fort of Patna, Ḥasan Khān Batnī suggested the destruction of the Punpur bridge and the siege of Hajipur, the supply centre to Patna, as the necessary preliminary.[2] Following his suggestions, the Mughals captured Hajipur and the fall of the town broke the resistance of the Afghāns of Dāud. They evacuated Patna and the Emperor easily occupied the fort.

Bābui Mankalī was another noble of Dāud Karranī who entered the service of Akbar after the fall of the Karranī sultanate in 1576. He played a remarkable role in the suppression of the Bihar-Bengal rebellion and in subduing the chiefs of Bengal.[3]

Daulat Khān Lodī was another Afghān, who served valiantly the cause of Mughal expansion. His ancestors, the relations of Daulat Khān Lodī and Dilāwar Khān Khān Khānān, served the Lodī and Sūr sulṭāns and his father 'Umar Khān Lodī, after the battle of Panipat in 1556, fled to Gujrat and took service under Sher Khān Fūlādī at Patan. 'Umar Khān fought against the Mughals in Gujrat in 1572-73 and was killed and his son Daulat Khān Lodī fled along with other Afghāns to Surat. Abū Turāb, the author of *Tārīkh- i- Gujrāt*, invited him to Ahmadabad and introduced him to the Mughal *ṣūbadār*, Khān A'ẓam Mīrzā 'Azīz Koka, who appointed

1 *A. N.*, II, 370; III, p. 167; *B.*, II, p. 156.
2 *Ibid*, 325; III, pp. 82-3.
3 *A. N.*, III, p. 314 and 400-1.

the brave young Afghān in his army in 1575.[1]

Khan A'ẓam greatly appreciated the courage and fighting qualities of Daulat Khān Lodī and made a present of him to Mīrzā 'Abdur Raḥīm, the son of Bairām Khān, at the time of his (Khān A'ẓam) sister's marriage with him. At that time, he said to 'Abdur Raḥīm that if he wished to rise high and to obtain his father's title of Khān Khānān, he should keep Daulat Khān with him and rear him.[2]

Mīrzā 'Abdur Raḥīm had a great admiration for Daulat Khān Lodī and chose him for his companion. In his *Memoirs*, Jahāngīr says that 'Abdur Raḥīm regarded Daulat Khān as his own brother or even hundred times more than his brother.[3] Daulat Khān had so much influence with his master that Badāunī has mentioned him as his *vakīl* (deputy).[4]

Indeed most of the victories of 'Adbur Raḥīm were due to Daulat Khān's valour and manliness.[5] In 1583, 'Abdur Raḥīm, then governor of Gujrat, was faced with the formidable rebellion of the renegade Gujrati sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh III, who had collected 40,000 horse against the Mughal force numbering only 10,000. The Emperor had sent instructions to him not to engage the rebels until the re-inforcements had arrived. Daulat Khān, however, said to 'Abdur Raḥīm at that time, "Then you will have partners; if you want to be Khān Khānān, you must win victory alone. It is better to be killed than to live with an obscure name."[6] Thus en-

1 *Tūz.*, 42-3; Imamuddin-*Khan Jahan's Ancestors*, *Islamic Culture*, XXXIII, No. 3.

2 *Ibid* and Ma'āṯhir, II, p. 5.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Tūz.*, 43.

5 *B.*, II, p. 367.

6 *Tuz.*, 43; *Rahīmī*, III, p. 1628.

couraged, 'Abdur Raḥīm instantly engaged the enemy at Sarkej, 3 kos from Ahmadabad. Daulat Khān fought with undaunted courage and defeated the rebels. This victory won 'Abdur Raḥīm from Emperor Akbar the title of Khān Khānān and the *manṣab* of 5,000.[1]

Daulat Khān also played a heroic part in 'Abdur Raḥīm's conquest of Thatta in 1593.[2] His part in the conquest of Ahmadnagar in 1600 was no less distinguished. In recognition of his courage and service, 'Abdur Raḥīm gave him the rank of 1,000 in his own contingent.[3]

Prince Dāniyāl had great admiration for Daulat Khān for his valour and courage. At his request, 'Abdur Raḥīm, who was his (Prince's) father-in-law, transferred the service of Daulat Khān to the Prince in 1600. Dāniyāl gave him the rank of 2000. Daulat Khān, however, did not live long to enjoy his new *manṣab*, for in 1601 he died of colic in Ahmadnagar.[4]

The authors of *Rahimī* and *Ma'āṭhir'* refer to Daulat Khān as one of the bravest men of the age[5] Indeed the victory of Sarkej and the conquest of Thatta and Ahmadnagar were largely due to his valour. Still Emperor Akbar distrusted him as an Afghān, and this is reflected in the remark he made when he received the news of his death.[6]

Daulat Khān Lodī left behind him several sons of whom Pīr Khān was destined to be the most influential noble in the court of Jahāngīr, with the title and name of Khān Jahān Lodī.

1 *T.*, II, p. 376; *B.*, II, p. 336.
2 *Ma'āṭhir*, II, p. 5; *Raḥīmī*, III, p. 1628.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *A. N.*, III, p. 785; *Ma'āṭhir*, II, pp. 5-6.
5 *Rahīmī*, III, pp. 1628-9; *Ma'āṭhir*, II, p. 6.
6 *Op. Cit.*, p. 261.

CHAPTER XI

JAHĀNGĪR'S POLICY TO THE AFGHĀNS AND THEIR POSITION IN HIS COURT (1605-27)

The relationship between the Afghāns and Emperor Akbar was one of hostility and distrust. Emperor Jahāngīr, however, followed a conciliatory policy towards the Afghāns and favoured them with suitable posts in the imperial service and an honoured position at the court. The Afghāns responded to this treatment with loyalty and devotion on the battle-field and in the council-chamber. Thus there dawned a new phase in the Afghān-Mughal relations in India.

The Afghān historian Ni'mat Allāh's writings reveal this important fact. He says, "In the year 1021 H. (1612 A. D.), the Afghāns lost their rule in India[1] and Emperor Jahāngīr, pardoning them their previous faults, attached them to himself by the bonds of bounty. He gave so much attention to them that they gave up their hostile attitude and bound themselves in submission and attachment to him even at the sacrifice of their lives. By their distinguished service, they raised themselves to the rank of great nobles and became worthy of being admitted to the Emperor's company. They aspired after imperial favour and exalted rank and they were exalted by the conferment of illustrious titles."[2]

1 The Afghāns had lost their rule in Northern India in 1556 and in Eastern India in 1576. It was only in Sylhet that a few Afghāns under 'Uthmān Lohānī resisted Mughal rule till 1612.

2 *M.*, 172b.

New Afghān policy with Jahāngīr's accession:

In fact, however, the new phase in the Afghān-Mughal relations began, not in 1612 as Ni'mat Allāh alleged, but in 1605, at the very beginning of the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr. In this respect, in 1612 the Afghān chief 'Uṭhmān Lohānī died fighting the battles of a bygone period. Jahāngīr had already been willing to make peace with 'Uṭhmān Lohānī by offering him a command of 5,000.[1]

Jahāngīr sought the support of the Afghāns from the very beginning of his reign just because he could not rely on many of the nobles of his father's time and felt the need of having a strong body of his supporters. Khan A'ẓam Mīrzā 'Azīz Koka, at the head of a section of Mughal nobles, and Raja Man Singh, the chief of the Rajput nobles, had, in the last days of Emperor Akbar, tried to push aside his succession and place his son Khusrau on the throne. Their intrigues made him feel so insecure that he dared not visit his dying father. The support of the Barha Saiyids led by Saiyid Khān Barha and Murtaẓa Khān, however, foiled their intrigues and Jahāngīr succeeded his father without further hindrance from them. But Jahāngīr's faith in many of the nobles of his father's time was naturally weakened and he felt the need of creating a group of nobles on whom he could confidently rely. For this he began to look towards the Afghāns.

Besides, born in the freer atmosphere of his father's court, Jahāngīr felt able to go further than his father in conciliating the ill-wishers and the vanquished foes of his empire. He conciliated the Rajputs of Udaipur whom Emperor Akbar failed to conquer. The favour he showed to Rana

1 *Bahāristān*, I, pp. 174-5.

Amar Singh and his son Karan Singh, after the conquest of his country in 1614, speaks of his conciliatory policy towards the vanquished.

When Karan Singh accompanied Prince Khurram to court, Jahāngīr honoured him by giving him a place in front of the right hand of the circle as well as a robe of honour and a jewelled sword. In his *Memoirs*, Jahāngīr writes, "As it was necessary to win the heart of Karan, I everyday showed him some fresh favour. On the second day of his attendance, I gave him a jewelled dagger and on the next a special Iraqi horse with a jewelled saddle........Nūrjahān Begam gave him a rich dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a horse, a saddle and an elephant. After this I presented him with a rosary of pearls of great value."[1] The same spirit of conciliation governed Emperor Jahāngīr's policy towards the Afghāns.

Moreover, Emperor Jahāngīr realized that the Afghāns were a race of good fighters and if they could be won over, they might render valuable service in his account. Already while he was a prince, a number of Afghāns served him with distinction. An Afghān chief named Rukn al-Dīn earned from him the name of Sher Khān for his valour.[2] Another Afghān chief named Ibrāhīm Khān Kākar performed meritorious service, a few days after the accession of Jahāngīr, in dealing with some rebelliously inclined Rajputs. Abhay Ram, Bijoy Ram and Shyam Ram, the grandsons of Bhagwan Das, the paternal uncle and adopted father of Raja Man Singh, tried to flee from Agra so that they might join the Rana of Udaipur. They were, however, placed in the custody of Ibrāhīm Khān Kākar and Ḥātim Mankalī, the son of Bābui Mankalī. When Ibrāhīm and Ḥatim wanted

1. *Tūz.*, 135-6; *R.*, II, p. 17.

2. *Ibid.*, 7; *R.* I, p. 17.

to disarm these Rajputs they attacked them and wounded Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm, however, managed to kill them. Being greatly impressed, Emperor Jahāngīr rewarded heroic Ibrāhīm with the title of Dilāwar Khān and gave him advancement in the imperial service.[1]

A comparison of the position of the Afghāns in the court of Emperor Akbar and of Emperor Jahāngīr in the period, 1605-12, shows that Jahāngīr, from the very beginning of his reign, followed a conciliatory policy towards the Afghāns.[2]

	In the reign of Jahāngīr (1605—12)	In the reign of Akbar (1556—1605)
Ṣūbadārs	2	None
Faujdārs	2	None
Independent campaign commanders	2	None
Manṣabdārs		
5,000	1	None
3,500	1	None
2,000	1	2 (but one of them, Bāz Bahādur of Malwa, was in prison)
1,000	1	4

There was also a good number of Afghān officers in the army whose *manṣab* cannot be ascertained. Their mention in

1 *Tūz.*, 12-3; *Ma'āthir*, II, p. 9.

2 *Idem*, pp. 254—56.

Jahāngīr's *Memoirs* and other contemporary works, however, suggests that they held suitable *manṣabs* in the army. Hatim,[1] the son of Bābui Mankalī, Bāyazīd Mankalī,[2] 'Alī Khān Niyāzī,[3] Shāhbāz Khān Lodī,[4] Bāyazīd Khān Panī, Jahān Khān Panī and Sher Khān Tarīn[5] were some of the Afghān officers whose actual rank as *manṣabdār* has not been mentioned in the contemporary histories.

In the year of his accession, Emperor Jahāngīr appointed Dilāwar Khān Kākar as governor of Lahore and raised his *manṣab* to 1,500 horse.[6] He promoted Sher Khān to the *manṣab* of 3,500[7] and gave him the charge of Peshawar and the Khaibar Pass.[8] In 1610, Jahāngīr elevated Ghaznīn Khān Jālūrī to the rank of 2,000 personal and 700 horse.[9] Manglī Khān held the *manṣab* of 1,500 personal and 800 horse in the early years of the reign of Jahāngīr.[10] In 1607, Jahāngīr appointed Mubārak Khān Sarwānī to the *Faujdārī* of Hisar and two years after he increased his *manṣab* to 1000 personal and 300 horse.[11] Tāj Khān Afghān, whose *manṣab* is not known, served the empire of Jahāngīr as

1 *Tūz.*, 12; *R.*, I, p. 29.
2 *Ibid*,, 80; *R.*, I, p. 166.
3 *Ibid.*, 88,
4 *Ibid.*, 147; *Iqbālnāma*, 104.
5 *Bahāristān*, I, pp. 74-5.
6 *Tūz.*, 23 and 27; *Iqbālnāma*, 7; *Ma'āṭhir*, II, p. 9.

دلاور خان افغان‌را بحکومت لاهور سرفراز ساخته بدانصوب
رخصت فرمودند -

7 *Ibid.*, 7.
8 *Ibid.*, 49 and 60.
9 *Ibid.*, 85.
10 *Ibid.*, 146.
11 *Ibid* 65 and 76.

governor of Thatta.[1]

Moreover, Emperor Jahāngīr showed special favour to Pīr Khān Lodī, the son of Daulat Khān Lodī. In 1606, he gave him the rank of 3,000 personal and 1,500 horse and conferred on him the title of Ṣalābat Khān. He also presented him with a standard and drums and called him *farzand* (son).[2] Jahāngīr always referred to him as " my son " and looked upon him as no less than his own sons. In 1607, he gave him the title of Khān Jahān and ordered that, in all the *farmāns* and correspondences, his name should be written by the new title. About this time, Khān Jahān Lodī received the rank of 5,000 personal and 5,000 horse and a special *khil'at* and a jewelled sword.[3]

By 1608 Khān Jahān Lodī became one of the intimate and influential nobles at the court. In his *Memoirs*, Emperor Jahāngīr writes, " I promoted him (Khān Jahān) beyond his fellows and equals."[4] The Emperor also says, " To-day there is in my government none of greater influence than Khān Jahān, so much so that, on his representation, I pass over faults, which are not pardoned at the intercession of any other servant of the court."[5] In fact, Emperor Jahāngīr

1 *Tūz.*, 131.
2 *Ibid*, 42 and *Iqbālnāma*, 19.
3 *Ibid*, 61.
4 *Ibid*, 42.
او بخطاب والای فرزندی از امثال و اقران درگذرانیدم۔
5 *Ibid*, 43.
امروز در دولت من ازو صاحب نسبت تری نیست چنانکه گناهان عظیم که بشفاعت هیچک از بندهای درگاه بعفو مقرون نگرد و بالتماس اومیگذرانم ۔

pardoned the offences of the nobles and officers at the intercession of Khān Jahān Lodī. Dulip Rai, the son of Rai Rai Singh, committed an offence, which Emperor Jahāngīr, in his *Memoirs*, does not specify, and took shelter with Khān Jahān. For the sake of Khān Jahān, Emperor Jahāngīr passed over the matter.[1]

The author of *Ma'āthir* says that Emperor Jahāngīr favoured Khān Jahān so much that he wished him to marry in the Mughal royal family. He also wanted to give him the title of sulṭān and to offer him a seat in the *Ghusalkhāna* (Royal Bath). Khān Jahān, however, refused representing that these were two privileges reserved for the princes.[2] It is not known if the above statement of *Ma'āthir* is a fact. But, considering Jahāngīr's intimacy with and the strong affection for Khān Jahān, it can be said that such offers were not improbable.

When in 1610, Khān Jahān offered to go on the Deccan campaign, Jahāngīr writes in his *Memoirs*, " I had never contemplated separation from him ; but, as the affair was an important one, I necessarily gave him permission and ordered him that, as soon as matters had been arranged, he should return without delay and that he should not stay in that region more than a year."[3] The Emperor gave him presents of many things and appointed faithful nobles and officers to accompany him to the Deccan.[4] At the time of Khān Jahān's departure, Emperor Jahāngīr descended from the *Jharokha*

1 *Tūz.*, 70.

چون پناه بفرزند خانجهان اورد گناهان او بعفو مقرون گشت

2 *Ma·āthir*, I, p. 717.

3 *Tūz.*, 77.

4 *Ibid.*, 77.

(the place wherefrom the Emperor used to give audience to the people) and placed his own *turban* on his head. He then took Khān Jahān's hand and helped him to mount the horse. The Emperor granted him the special privilege of beating his drums as he went from his presence. The author of *Ma'āthir* writes that both Emperor Jahāngīr and Khān Jahān wept at the time of the separation.[1] The above incident shows the position of the Afghān noble Khān Jahān in the court of Jahāngīr.

Noteworthy also as a proof of the new Mughāl Emperor's attitude towards the Afghāns is his entrusting them with responsible posts and important commands. Jahāngīr gave them the charge of such strategically important places as the Panjab, Peshawar and the Khaibar Pass.[2] In 1610, he vested the supreme command of the Deccan campaign in Khān Jahān Lodī.[3]

This new attitude produced the desired effect. From this time we find the Afghāns fighting in right earnest for the cause of the Mughal empire. Emperor Jahāngīr himself appreciated the service of his Afghān officers. Of Sher Khān he says that he did his duty of guarding the Khaibar Pass

1 *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 718.
وقت رخصت پادشاه خود از جهروکهٔ خاص‌وعام فردد امده دستار خودرا برسرش گذاشته دشت او کرفته بر اسپ سوار کردند و حکم شد که از حضور نقاره نواخته روان شود ازین طرف پادشاه و ازان سو خانجهان بے اختیار گریهٔ مفارقت میکردند

2 *Op. Cit.*, p. 263.
3 *Tū*, 86; *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 719; *Iqbālnāma*, 45.

well.[1] As the governor of Lahore, Dilāwar Khān also rendered valuable service to the empire of Jahāngīr. When the renegade and rebel Prince Khusrau advanced towards Lahore in 1606 and many of the Mughal officers had joined his standard, Dilāwar Khān remained loyal to the Emperor. He could have joined Khusrau along with other Afghāns of the Panjab. But, Dilāwar Khān did not do that. He prepared the defence of Lahore and stubbornly resisted the siege of the rebel Prince.[2] Indeed it was his resistance which enabled Emperor Jahāngīr to defeat and capture Khusrau and to avert a civil war in the empire.

Many Afghān officers fought in the war against Udaipur and Emperor Jahāngīr apperciated their services. He says that Ghaznīn Khān Jalūrī showed the greatest zeal of all in fighting against the Rana.[3] Bāyazīd Mankalī and his brothers fought bravely against the rebels in Uch.[4]

Khān Jahān Lodī and many other Afghāns took part in the campaign against Ahmadnagar. At first Khān Jahān went to assist the supreme commander Khān Khānān 'Abdur Raḥīm in the campaign. But, he found the commander lukewarm in his duty. So, he sent a representation to the Emperor accusing 'Abdur Raḥīm and suggesting that if he was appointed to the chief command, he would conquer Ahmadnagar

1 *Tūz.*, 60; *R.*, I, p. 102.

در حفظ و حراست راه تقصیر نکرده بود است

2 *Ibid.*, 27 and 29; *Iqbālnāma*, 10-11; De Laet, 174.

3 *Tūz.*, 85.

چون از همه بیشتر اظهار خدمتگاری و کار طلبی غزنین خان جالوری نموده بود۔

4 *Ibid.*, 82.

and Bijapur in two years.[1] Emperor Jahāngīr fell in with his proposals. He also appointed Khān A'ẓam to assist the new commander. Although Khān Jahān Lodī exerted himself with great zeal and ability, his campaign against Ahmadnagar did not fare better than that of 'Abdur Raḥīm. The guerrilla tactics of the Deccanis and the genius of their commander Malik 'Ambar foiled his efforts. The absence of harmony in the plan of the campaign on account of the differences of the Mughal generals also contributed to the failure of Khān Jahān. But whatever might have been the reason for the result of the campaign, it however illustrates the earnestness of an Afghān chief in fighting for the expansion of the empire of the Mughals.

In 1611, a great offensive against Ahmadnagar was planned. Khān Jahān, Man Singh and Khān A'ẓam were to advance from the side of Berar and Khandesh. 'Abd Allāh Khān was to advance from Gujrat in the direction of Nasik and Trimbak. He was to keep in touch with the main division of the army so that they might make a simultaneous attack on Ahmadnagar. But 'Abd Allāh Khān's vanity and his selfish passion for glory spoiled the plan. He did not co-operate with Khān Jahān and made a dash towards Daulatabad. The guerrilla tactics of the Deccanis and their blockade of his supply routes greatly reduced his army. Realizing his folly, 'Abd Allāh Khān retreated to Baglana and thence to Gujrat.

In his *Memoirs*, Emperor Jahāngīr writes that the great offensive under Khān Jahān Lodī failed because of the pride of 'Abd Allāh Khān, the disagreement of the generals and the carelessness of Khān A'ẓam.[2] We, however, think that the

[1] *Tūz.*, 86; *R.*, I, pp. 179-80.
[2] *Ibid.*, 107; *R.*, I, pp. 219-20.

disagreement of the Mughal generals and the carelessness of Khān A'ẓam might have been due to the vesting of the supreme command in Khān Jahān. The proud Mughal nobles and generals probably could not reconcile themselves to the idea of being subordinates to an Afghān and a new-comer to the imperial service.

Emperor Jahāngīr's policy won over many Afghān chiefs to his service. Pīr Khān Lodī and his brothers joined the army of Islām Khān, the governor of Bengal.[1] In 1611 after the battle of Salka, Jamāl Khān Lohānī left the service of Raja Pratapaditya of Jessore and entered Jahāngīr's Bengal army.[2] Naṣīr Khān Panī, Dariyā Khān Panī and their followers left 'Uthmān Lohānī and joined the imperial army.[3] Mīrzā Nathan, the author of *Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī* and a petty officer in the Mughal army, had 250 Afghāns under him.[4] In the campaign of Islām Khān against the *zamīndārs* of Bengal and 'Uṭhmān Lohānī, many Afghan chiefs, such as Bāyazīd Khān Panī, Jahān Khān Panī, Sher Khān Tarīn, Muḥammad Khān Panī and others are found fighting in the Mughal army.[5]

Notwithstanding the conciliatory policy of Emperor Jahāngīr towards the Afghāns in general and his fair offers to 'Uṭhmān Lohānī in particular, a section of the Afghāns under that great Lohānī chief and Bāyazīd Karranī remained hostile to him. In alliance with Mūsa Khān, the son of 'Isa Khān, the leader of the *Bara Bhuyans* of Bengal, they resisted Mughal authority in Eastern Bengal. Even after the submission of the *zamīndārs* in 1611, these Afghāns defied Emperor

1 *Bahāristān*, I, p. 54.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 110.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 100.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 87.
5 *Ibid.*, 74-76 and 78.

Jahāngīr's authority in Sylhet. In the battle of Daulambapur in 1612, they fought against the vast forces of the Mughals with only 10,000 infantry, 5,200 cavalry and 140 elephants.[1] 'Uthman fell fighting bravely and many of his men were killed. The death of the leader dispirited the Afghāns[2] and they surrendered themselves to the Mughal general Shujā'at Khān.

Afghān position after 1612 :

Uthmān and his men had given the Mughals much trouble. The battle of Daulambapur had destroyed the last refuge of the Afghāns. They could obtain neither shelter nor service in Bengal as the power of the *zamīndārs* had been crushed and the whole country had passed into the hands of the Mughals. They could not also pass to the *Roh* or to Southern India through the Mughal territories. So, after the battle of Daulambapur, the Afghāns were either to surrender or to move as homeless wanderers in the hills of Assam or Tripura.

In the circumstances, Emperor Jahāngīr might have remained indifferent to the Afghāns. He, however, forgot their past conduct and favoured them. When the Afghāns surrendered after the battle, Shujā'at Khān and other Mughal officers received them honourably. The sons and brothers of 'Uthmān Lohānī received robes of honour and 400 Afghān chiefs obtained the present of a pair of *shawls* each.[3] On

1 *Bahāristān*, I, p. 173.

2 *Tūz.*, 104. Jahāngir writes that he could not at first believe that 'Uthman, the great warrior, who had for years defied the Mughals, was dead at Daulambapur.

3 *Bahāristān*, I, pp. 196-7; *Iqbālnāma*, 64.

their arrival at Dacca, *ṣūbadār* Islām Khān also presented them with robes of honour.[1] Bāyazīd Karranī and his brothers, who had also submitted, received the same generous treatment from Emperor Jahāngīr.[2]

Emperor Jahāngīr admitted the Afghāns of 'Uthmān and Bāyazīd into the imperial army. This made a great impression on their minds and they fought loyally and heroically in the Mughal conquest of Koch Bihar, Kamrup and Kachar. The subjugation of these countries of the north-east frontier of the Mughal empire was largely due to the loyal services of the Afghāns.[3]

The subjugation of the Afghāns of Sylhet in 1612 and Emperor Jahāngīr's clemency to them brought about a complete change in the Afghān-Mughal relations in India. It dissipated the atmosphere of hostility and distrust that had existed between the Afghāns and Mughals since the time of Bābur. Jahāngīr trusted the Afghāns unreservedly with responsible posts in the imperial service and honoured them with titles, presents and *Khil'ats*. The Afghāns, on their part, reconciled themselves to the loss of their sovereignty and independence and exerted themselves to better their fortune within the imperial service and to obtain an honoured position at the Mughal court. Thus the Afghāns rose rapidly in the imperial service and though they ceased to be an independent political force in India, they however succeeded in establishing their influence within the court of Jahāngīr. A study of their posi-

1 *Bahāristān*, I, p. 205.

2 *Ibid.*, 195-6 and 208.

3 *Ibid.*, 222-3, 230-2, 316, 371 and 410.

tion in the period, 1613-1627, will bear out this statement.

Afghāns in Mughal imperial service (1613-27):

Ṣūbadārs	4		
		Dilāwar Khān Kākar	Kashmir
		Tāj Khān Afghān	Thatta
		Jalāl Khān Kākar	Kashmir
		Khān Jahān Lodī	Multan, Gujrat and the Deccan
Independent campaign commanders	3		
Atāliq	1		
Sipāhsalār	1		
Faujdārs	3		
		Mubārak Khān Sarwānī	
		Mubāriz Khān [1]	
		Sher Khān Afghān [2]	

Manṣabdārs:

7,000	7,000	Khān Jahān Lodī [3]
4,000	3,000	Dilāwar Khān Kākar [4]
4,000	3,000	Bahlūl Khān Miyāna [5] (Sarbuland Khān)

1 *Tūz.*, 203; R., I, p. 409.
2 *Iqbālnāma*, 222.
3 *Lāhorī*, I, p. 182.
4 *Tūz.*, 303; *Iqbālnāma*, 146.
5 *Lāhorī* I, p. 182.

4,000		Kamāl al-Dīn Rohīla[1]
3,000	3,000	Mubāriz Khān Rohīla[2]
3,000	2,500	Sardār Khān Afghān[3]
		Sher Khān (Nahīr Khān)[4]
3,000	2,000	Sheru Rohīla[5]
1,500	1,000	Allahadād Khān Rohīla[6]
3,000	500	Shāhbāz Khān Dutanī[7]
2,500	1,200	Bābui Khān Karranī[8]
2,000	1,500	Aḥmad Khān Niyāzī[9]
2,000	1,000	Asalat Khān Lodī[10]
		Shāhbāz Khān Lodī[11]
2,000	700	Ghaznīn Khān Jalūrī
1,500	1,200	Nannū Khān Afghān[12]
1,500	1,000	Manglī Khān[13]
1,000	700	Mubārak Khān Niyāzī[14]
1,000	600	Jalāl Khān Kākar[15]
1,000	300	Mubārak Khān Sarwānī
700	500	Kamāl al-Dīn Khān (son of Sher Khān Afghān).[16]

1 *Lāhorī*, I, p. 311.

2 *Ibid.*, I, p. 182 and 214.

3 *Tūz.*, 344.

4 *Ma'āṭhir*, II, p. 652; *Lāhori*, I, p. 78.

5 *Ibid.*, 650-1.

6 *Tūz.*, 184.

7-8 *Lāhorī*, I, p. 183 and 121.

9 Ma'āṭhir, I, p. 185.

10-13 *Tūz.*, 352, 147, 366 and 146.

14 *Lāhorī*, I, p. 307.

15-16 *Tūz.*, 312 and 146.

Besides those listed above, there were in the army of Emperor Jahāngīr other Afghān *manṣabdārs* whose actual rank as *manṣabdār* is not known. Shāh Muḥammad Kākar, Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī and others[1] have been mentioned as officers in the imperial army fighting against Koch Bihar and Kamrup in 1612-13. There is, however, no reference to the number of horse they commanded. Jahāngīr writes that, in 1617 after the death of Ḥasan Khān Miyāna, he granted *manṣabs* to his sons.[2] In 1620 when Dilāwar Khān died, Jahāngīr also favoured his sons and *sardārs* with *manṣabs*.[3] Jamāl Khān and Rustam Khān have been mentioned as Afghān officers in the Mughal army fighting the rebels of Kangra in 1620.[4] As they were officers having Afghān followers under them, it may be said that they held some *manṣab* in the imperial army.

To illustrate Emperor Jahāngīr's new policy towards the Afghāns and their loyal service to him it will be useful to examine in some detail the careers of Dilāwar Khān Kākar and Khān Jahān Lōdī. It has been seen that Dilāwar Khān Kākar saved the empire of Jahāngīr in 1606 from a civil war by successfully opposing the rebel Prince Khusrau at Lahore and by helping the Emperor to capture him. In 1614, along with Sher Khān and other Afghān officers, he joined Prince Khurram in the conquest of Udaipur and performed distinguished service.[5] In 1618, Emperor Jahāngīr appointed Dilāwar Khān as governor of Kashmir and the latter promised to the Emperor that he would in the course of two

1 *Bahāristān*, I, p. 318, 336, 371 and 410.
2 *Tūz.*, 200-1; *R.*, I, p. 405-6.
3 *Ibid.*, 311; *R.*, II, p. 167.
4 *Ibid.*, 311-2; *R.* II, p. 166-7.
5 *Ibid.*, 27-9 and 127; Ma'āthir, II, p. 10.

years conquer Kishtwar, a mountainous country in South Kashmir.[1]

In 1619, accompanied by his adventurous sons Jalāl, Jamāl and Ḥasan, Dilāwar Khān marched with an army of 10,000 foot for the conquest of Kishtwar. As the country was full of mountains, defiles, jungles, rivers and fords, they had to face great difficulties in the campaign. They, however, overcame all obstacles and, by the beginning of 1620, they completed the conquest of Kishtwar.[2] Emperor Jahāngīr highly appreciated Dilāwar Khān's service. He honoured him and his sons with *khil'at* and an increase in *manṣab* and granted him for a year the revenue of the conquered territory which amounted to 100,000 rupees.[3] In his *Memoirs*, the Emperor wrote about him, "Among the nobles of high rank Dilāwar Khān was one who combined valour with leadership and knowledge of affairs. He always established his superiority in my serivce and worked with perfect sincerity."[4] The Emperor patronised his sons, after Dilāwar Khan's death in 1620, and appointed his eldest son Jalāl as governor of Kashmir. Jalāl and his men fought bravely in subduing the *zamīndārs* and chiefs who still defied Mughal authority in Kishtwar.[5]

Afghān influence at Mughal court:

The career of Khān Jahān Lodī best illustrates the new policy of Emperor Jahāngīr. It also shows the rise of the Afghān influence in the Mughal empire. Even after Khān Jahān's failure in the Deccan in 1611, Jahāngīr treated him

[1] *Tūz.*, 225; *R.*, II, p. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, 294-5; *Iqbālnāma*, 141-6.
[3] *Ibid.*, 288; *Iqbālnāma*, 146.
[4] *Ibid.*, 311; *R.*, II, p. 167.
[5] *Ibid.*, 312; *R.*, II, p. 171.

with favour. He gave him a *jagir* in Thanesvar. In 1612, Jahāngīr summoned him to court, because as he says in his *Memoirs*, "As I had a great desire to see my *farzand* Khān Jahān and wanted to inquire into the important affairs connected with the Deccan, I sent for him."[1] About this time at his request, the Emperor raised the *manṣab* of Shāhbāz Khān Lodī to 2,000 personal and 1,000 horse.[2]

In 1616, Khān Jahān accompanied Prince Shāh Jahān to the Deccan. In 1617, Jahāngīr elevated him to the *manṣab* of 6,000 personal and 6,000 horse, a rank which no other noble except the princes of the blood enjoyed at that time. He also honoured Khān Jahān with the present of an Iraqi horse from his private stable.[3] In the same year, Khān Jahān returned from the Deccan along with Prince Shah Jahān, Mahābat Khān and others and Jahāngīr gave precedence to him over other nobles. Shāh Jahān had the honour of audience with the Emperor in the *Jharokha*. After this, Jahāngīr ordered the *bakhshīs* to arrange the nobles according to their rank. In his *Memoirs*, the Emperor writes, "The first, who had the honour of audience, was Khān Jahān. Sending for him above (to the *Jharokha*), I selected him for the honour of kissing my feet."[4] After this 'Abd Allāh Khān, Mahābat Khān and others were introduced before the Emperor.[5] This precedence of Khān Jahān over others shows

1 *Tūz.*, 145; Ma'āṭhir, I, p. 719.

2 *Ibid.*, 147; *Ma·āṭhir* I, p. 719.

3 *Ibid.*, 184; *R.*, I, p. 372.

4 *Ibid.*, 195; *R.*, I, p. 394.

اول خانجهان بسعادت ملازمت سرفرازی یافت اورا بالا
طلبیده بدولت قومبوس امتیاز بخشیدم ـ

5 *Ibid.*, 195; R., I, p. 394.

that by 1617 he rose to be the premier noble at the Mughal court.

Emperor Jahāngīr had greater trust in Khān Jahān than in any other noble of his court. Even Empress Nūrjahān's brother Aṣaf Khān did not enjoy so much of the Emperor's confidence. An incident relating to the imprisoned Prince Khusrau reveals this fact. Mahābat Khān, Khān Jahān Lodī and other nobles suggested the release of the Prince to the Emperor. Jahāngīr, however, feared that Khusrau might again create trouble for him. He agreed to release him, if he could be placed in the custody of a trustworthy noble. The choice of Jahāngīr fell on Khān Jahān. Khusrau was set free and made over to his care.[1]

In 1620, Emperor Jahāngīr took Khān Jahān with him to Kashmir for a change of air. About this time, the Emperor granted him a very charming village named Inch near Srinagar which had been given by Emperor Akbar to Ramdas Kachwaha.[2]

In 1621 when Emperor Jahāngīr was in Kashmir, he received news that the Persians were threatening Qandahar. Thereupon he appointed Khān Jahān as governor of Multan so that he might keep watch in that quarter. He sent him to his charge with the present of a *khil'at*, a jewelled sword, a horse and an elephant.[3] In 1621, Jahāngīr sent him the present of a special elephant named Gaj Ratan[4] and raised the *manṣab* of his son Asalat Khān.[5]

1 Waḥab-*Intikhāb-i-Jahāngīr Shāhī, E.*, VI, 452.
2 *Tūz.*, 312-3; R., II, p. 172.
3 *Ibid.*, 323; *R.*, II, p. 191; *Iqbālnāma*, 176-7.
4 *Ibid.*, 332; *R.*, II, p. 209.
5 *Ibid.*, 337; *R.* II, p. 219.

In 1622, the Persian ruler Shāh 'Abbās II besieged Qandahar with a large army and the Mughal commandant 'Abd al-'Azīz was shut up in the fort with a force of 300 soldiers. Khān Jahān communicated the news to the Emperor and sought his permission to proceed to the relief of the beleaguered fort. Under the influence of Emperor Nūrjahān, who wanted to send Shāh Jahān to Qandahar, Jahāngīr, however, refused him saying that kings should be opposed by kings or princes.

A little later Jahāngīr sent a *farmān* to Khān Jahān summoning him to court. The opponents of Khān Jahān interpreted this sudden call as a sign that the Emperor would humiliate him. But to their disappointment and surprise, the Emperor received him with his usual favour and presented him with a *khil'at*, an elephant, a special horse, a jewelled sword and a dagger. In fact, the Emperor required the presence of Khān Jahān at the court so that he might discuss Qandahar affairs with him. It was settled that until Shāh Jahān came from the Deccan to command the army to Qandahar, Khān Jahān was to wait at Multan and make all necessary preparations.[1]

But Shāh Jahān suspected that Empress Nurjahān wanted to discredit and ruin him by sending him to the Qandahar campaign. So he did not leave the Deccan on one excuse or another. In the meantime after siege of 45 days, the fort of Qandahar fell into the hands of Shāh 'Abbās II.[2]

When in 1622 Shāh Jahān rebelled, Emperor Jahāngīr summoned Khān Jahān to court. As he did not come in spite of repeated orders, Jahāngīr wrote to him, " If at this time

1 *Tūz.*, 345; *Iqbālnāma*, 192 and 196; Ma āṭhir, I, pp. 719-20.

2 *Lāhorī*, II, p. 26.

Sher Khān Sūr were living, he would, notwithstanding his enmity, come to us and yet you have not come."[1] It happened that Khān Jahān had fallen ill at that time. When after 13 days he recovered, he hastened to court. Jahāngīr treated him with favour and ordered him to guard the fort of Agra and its treasures and to take up his abode at Fathpur Sikri.[2]

In 1623 on the death of Khān A'ẓam Mirza 'Azīz Koka, Emperor Jahāngīr appointed Khān Jahān as governor of Gujrat. In the following year, he appointed him *atālīq* to Prince Parvez and viceroy of the Deccan in place of Mahābat Khān, who had fallen into the bad graces of the Emperor. In 1625, Parvez died and Khān Jahān obtained the sole management of the Deccan affairs.[3] By this time, Shāh Jahān was in full rebellion. Khān Jahān's position as a premier noble in the empire was definitely established when Shāh Jahān rebelled and Mahābat Khān lost his position with Prince Parvez. He had the favour and the confidence of the Emperor and he wielded considerable influence at the court. So, when after a fruitless rebellion Shāh Jahān presented his petition of submission, the Emperor pardoned him at the intercession of Khān Jahān.[4] De Laet also writes that in 1626 Khān Jahān was the most influential noble in the Mughal empire.[5]

As a viceroy of the Deccan, Khān Jahān tarnished his good name by succumbing to the temptation of the Deccan gold. Instead of prosecuting the war against Ahmadnagar, in 1626 he made a treaty with the Niẓām al-Mulk and his Abyssinian minister Ḥamīd Khān'. By this treaty, he sold

1 Ma'āṭhir, I, p. 720.
2 *Tūz.*, 360, 373 and 380; *Iqbālnāma*, 216; *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 720.
3 *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 721.
4 *Iqbālnāma*, 248.
5 De Laet, 23.

to them for an annual tribute of three lac of *Huns* the whole territory of Balaghat. The annual revenue of the territory was 55 crore of *Huns*. Khān Jahān sent orders to the Mughal officers to make over the territory to the Niẓām al-Mulk's officers. All obeyed except Sipahdār Khān, the commandant of the fort of Ahmadnagar, who refused to surrender his charge without a *farmān* from the Emperor.[1]

The court historian Mu'tamid Khān has condemned Khān Jahān as a faithless Afghān for his sale of Balaghat.[2] The author of *Ma'āṭhir* says that by this treaty Khān Jahān made friends with the Niẓām al-Mulk so that he might find refuge at his court in the event of a change of fortune.[3] In view of the illness of Emperor Jahāngīr, Mahābat Khān's *coup* and the rival parties at the court on the issue of succession, Khān Jahān probably felt that he might fall on evil days after the death of the Emperor. So, to provide against future misfortune, he made friends with the Niẓām al-Mulk. But, whatever might have been his motive, the sale transaction revealed his faithlessness and ingratitude to the Emperor and his great patron.

Khān Jahān's sale of Balaghat displeased Jahāngīr. In spite of this, Jahāngīr conferred on him a few days later the title of *sipāhsalār*.[4] It seems strange that, instead of humiliating the faithless Afghān, Jahāngīr favoured him with the highest military title of the empire. It was not, however, the strong affection of the Emperor for him rather the policy of Empress Nūrjahān, who was the *de facto* ruler of the empire at the time, which accounted for this. Nūrjahān wanted the

1 *Iqbālnāma*, 283-4; *Lāhorī*, I, pp. 271-2; *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 721.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 721.

4 *Iqbālnāma*, 289; Ma'āṭhir, I, p. 721.

succession for her son-in-law Prince Shāhriyār and for this reason she had disgraced Shāh Jahān and Mahābat Khān. The rebel Mahābat Khān joined Shāh Jahān[1] and their alliance threatened the ascendancy of Nūrjahān. Besides, Nūrjahān could not rely on her brother Aṣaf Khān, the father-in-law of Shāh Jahān. She had to rely all the more on Khān Jahān, the powerful viceroy of the Deccan. Hence, Khān Jahān received the favour of the court and he continued to enjoy his great position in the empire till the death of Emperor Jahāngīr in 1627.

A favourite companion of Emperor Jahāngīr, an *atālīq* to a prince, a powerful viceroy of a great and covetable province and the *sipāhsalār* of the empire, Khān Jahān had a unique position at the Mughal court. His intercession obtained for nobles and princes pardons from the Emperor for their offences.[2] The author of *Ma'āṭhir* says that, in point of intimacy and influence of words, Khān Jahān had no rival at the court.[3] The Emperor looked upon him as his son and offered him a seat in the *Ghusalkhāna*. He also wanted him to marry a princess of the blood. He helped him to mount the horse and even wept at his separation from him. The writings of the European travellers also reveal the affections of Emperor Jahāngīr for Khān Jahān. Edward Terry, who came to the Mughal court in 1616, says that Emperor Jahāngīr gave Khān Jahān the title of "the Lord of my Heart".[4]

Indeed Khān Jahān held an enviable position at the

1 *Iqbālnāma*, 289; *Ma·āṭhir*, I, p. 721.

2 *Op. Cit.*, p. 266 and 280.

3 *Ma·āṭhir*, I, p. 717.

در محرمیت و اعتبار سخن شریک و سهیمے نگذاشت ۔

4 Purchas-*His Pilgrimes*, IX, p. 48.

court of Jahāngīr. The Emperor granted him many special privileges. Khān Jahān enjoyed the privilege of beating his drums in the royal presence. He had also the privilege of public and private reception.[1] The author of *Ma'āṭhir* says that all the nobles had to receive Khān Jahān when he came to the court.[2] One day Shāh Jahān said to Saiyid Khān Jahān Barha, " This title (Khān Jahān) is of a man from whom we and all the princes desire to receive attention ; but, out of contempt, he says nothing to anybody."[3] This illustrates the position and influence of Khān Jahān at the court of Jahāngīr. Indeed in Khān Jahān we find the culmination of the Afghān political influence in the Mughal empire.

1 *Ma·āṭhir*, I, p. 723.

رجوع خاص و عام -

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*, 730-1.

این خطاب شخص است که ما و جمیع شاهزادها ارزومند
نگاه او بودیم و او باستغنا با کسی حرف نمیزد -

CHAPTER XII

THE FALL OF KH̱ĀN JAHĀN AND THE DECLINE OF AFGH̱ĀN INFLUENCE

In the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr, the Afg̱hān influence at the court of the Mug̱hals rose to its zenith in the person of K̲hān Jahān Lodī. In the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān (1627-58), however, there came a steady decline in Afg̱hān influence and position in the Mug̱hal empire. The hostile attitude of K̲hān Jahān to the succession of Shāh Jahān, his subsequent rebellion against him and consequent distrust of the new Emperor towards the Afg̱hāns accounted for this.

K̲hān Jahān and Shāh Jahān's succession:

Emperor Jahāngīr died in 1627 and there came an eclipse in the fortunes of K̲hān Jahān. Shāh Jahān, who was at Junair in the Deccan, proclaimed himself emperor at the news of his father's death and, desiring to win over the powerful viceroy of the Deccan to his cause against his rival claimants to the throne, he sent his confidential agent, Jān Nishār K̲hān, to him with a *farmān* confirming him in his viceroyalty. But K̲hān Jahān refused to support Shāh Jahān. The court historians say that K̲hān Jahān, who had great authority in the Deccan, aimed at sovereign power after the death of Emperor Jahāngīr.[1]

This view of the Mug̱hal historians seems to have been based on their prejudice against K̲hān Jahān and the Afg̱hāns. In fact, K̲hān Jahān did not aim at sovereign power,

[1] *Iqbālnāma*, 299; *Lāhorī*, I, pp. 270-1.

though many of his friends and followers, particularly Sikandar Dutānī and Dariyā Khān Rohīla, formerly an officer of Prince Shāh Jahān, incited him to seize the opportunity for the recovery of the Afghān sovereignty in India.[1]

Khān Jahān, however, wanted to be neutral in the succession dispute that occurred after the death of Emperor Jahāngīr. He saw that Empress Nūrjahān supported the cause of her son-in-law Prince Shāhriyār and the latter had proclaimed himself as emperor at Lahore. Aṣaf Khān and the army officers, who had been with the dying Emperor Jahāngīr in the camp at Rajauri, had installed Dāwar Bakhsh, a son of Prince Khusrau, on the throne. While there were three candidates for the throne, Aqā Afḍal, the *dīwān* of the Deccan whose brother was a *dīwān* of Shāhriyār, advised Khān Jahān to remain neutral in the succession dispute and to join the service of whoever attained the throne.[2]

Besides, Khān Jahān was displeased with Shāh Jahān, because he conferred on Mahābat Khān the title of *sīpāh-salār*.[3] He feared that if Shāh Jahān became emperor, he would promote Mahābat Khān and as such his own great position and influence at the court would be gone. It wounded the feelings of Khān Jahān that Shāh Jahān, in spite of his former intimacy with him, should favour his rival Mahābat Khān, who had joined him only recently.[4] So, Khān Jahān did not wish to support the cause of Shāh Jahān. Moreover, he thought that, in view of Empress Nūrjahān's support of Shahriyār and the installation of Dāwar Bakhsh by Aṣaf Khān and the army, Shāh Jahān had little chance of obtaining the throne.

[1] Iqbālnāma, 299; *Ma'āṭhir*, I, pp. 722 and 727.
[2] *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 722.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*

Khān Jahān's hostile attitude towards Shāh Jahān's succession incensed the latter and he sent Mahābat Khān with an army to Mandu, where Khān Jahān had left his family and men. At this, Khān Jahān renewed friendly relations with the Niẓām al-Mulk and, leaving his sons and Sikandar Dutānī in charge of Burhanpur, he moved towards Mandu and occupied Malwa from its governor Muẓaffar Khān Ma'murī, who was inclined to Shāh Jahān.[1]

But, although Khān Jahān did not support Shāh Jahān, in the end it was the latter who won the war of succession. Empress Nūrjahān's nominee Shāhriyār was defeated and captured and the proclamation of Dāwar Bakhsh proved to be a ruse invented by Aṣaf Khān in favour of his son-in-law. Khān Jahān realized his grave miscalculation. So, after Shāh Jahān's accession, he sent a *vakīl* to the court with suitable presents.[2] Emperor Shāh Jahān forgave him and reappointed him to the government of the Deccan.[3]

Shāh Jahān's Afghān Policy (1627-31);

At the beginning of his reign (1627-31), Emperor Shāh Jahān followed his father's policy of conciliating the Afghāns. The fact that he forgave Khān Jahān and reappointed him to the government of the Deccan illustrates this. He also confirmed Khān Jahān's rank of 7,000 *zāt* and 7,000 *sawār*.[4] Shāh Jahān even pardoned Dariyā Khān Rohīla, who had deserted from his service and joined Khān Jahān. The Emperor also gave him a *manṣab* of 4,000 *zāt* and 3,000 *sawār* which, in 1628, was raised to 4,000 and 4,000.[5]

1 *Iqbālnāma*, 300; *Lāhorī*, I, p. 272; *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 723.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Lāhorī*, I, p. 273; *'Amal*, I, p. 348.

4 *Ibid*, p. 182.

5 *Ibid*, 202-3 and 297.

Besides, Shāh Jahān appointed Sher Khān as governor of Gujrat and conferred on him the rank of 5,000 *zāt* and 5,000[1] *sawār*. He also confirmed and raised the *manṣab* of a few other Afghān officers, such as Bahlūl Khān Miyāna, Mubāriz Khān Afghān, Shāhbāz Dutānī[2] and Jalāl Khān Kākar.[3] Moreover, he created a few *manṣabdārs* from among the Afghāns, such as Bahādur Khān Rohīla, the son of Dariyā Khan Rohīla,[4] Jahān Khān Kākar[5] and others. The following table will give an idea of the position of the Afghāns in the early years (1627-31) of Shāh Jahān's reign.

Afghān manṣabdārṣ (1631 A.D.)

7,000	7,000	Khān Jahān Lodī
5,000	5,000	Sher Khān
4,000	4,000	Dariyā Khān Rohīla
4,000	3,000	Bahlūl Khan Miyāna
4,000	2,000	Bahādur Khān Rohīla
3,000	3,000	Aṣalat Khān Lodī[6] Mubāriz Khān Rohīla
3,000	2,000	Sherū Rohīla[7]
3,000	500	Shāhbāz Dutānī
2,500	2,000	Allahdād Khān Rohīla

1 Lāhorī, 77-8; *Ma'āṭhir*, II, pp. 652-3.
2 *Ibid*, 182-3.
3 *Ibid*, 184.
4 *Ibid*, 117.
5 *Ibid*, 119.
6 *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 732.
7 *Lāhorī* I, p. 204.

2,000	1,500	Bābui Khān Karranī[1]
1,500	1,000	Mubārak Khān Niyāzī[2]
1,500	700	Jalāl Khān Kākar
1,500	500	Aḥmad Khān Niyazī[3]
1,000	800	Pīr Khān Miyāna[4]
1,000	400	Jahān Khān Kākar
		Bahādur Khān Lodī[5]

Although the Afghāns continued to enjoy an honourable place in the Mughal army, yet their political influence, which they had wielded in the empire through the great position of Khān Jahān Lodī, disappeared in Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign. On account of his sale of Balaghat and his hostile attitude to the succession of Shāh Jahān, Khān Jahān lost his position at his court. On the other hand, Aṣaf Khān and Mahābat Khān, who had helped the new Emperor in the war of succession, became the premier nobles in the empire and they obtained the titles of *Yamīn al-Daula* (the Pillar of the State) and Khān Khānān respectively.

The rise of Mahābat Khān, his rival, in particular, meant the loss of Khān Jahān's great position in the empire. So, the author of *Ma'āṭhir* rightly says that men, who had not been admitted to the presence of Emperor Jahāngīr, claimed to be the equals of Khān Jahān and they even raised their

1 Lāhorī, I, p. 302.
2 *Ibid*, I, p. 307.
3 *Ibid*, 296.
4 *Ibid*, I, p. 308.
5 *Ibid*, I, p. 276.

heads above him.[1]

It seems that Shāh Jahān appointed Khān Jahān as governor of the Deccan with the idea that he was to recover Balaghat from his friend the Niẓām al-Mulk. But as the latter could not do so, in 1628 the Emperor transferred him to Malwa and gave Mahābat Khān the charge of the Deccan.[2] Khān Jahān took part in the suppression of Jujhar Singh Bundela's rebellion. After that, he came to the court on a summons from the Emperor.[3]

Khān Jahān's rebellion:

The court historians say that Khān Jahān remained eight months at the court and, although the Emperor did not rebuke him, he continued to be moody and disconcerted and was ready to listen to trouble-makers.[4] There are however reasons to think that Khān Jahān had cause to feel uneasy at the court of Emperor Shāh Jahān. He found that his former position had gone and his inferiors had been made his superiors. Besides, Shāh Jahān received him only with cold and formal politeness.[5] This neglect wounded the feelings of Khān Jahān. Moreover, Shāh Jahān significantly referred to the strong contingent he had brought to the court. He also transferred some *parganas* of Khān Jahān's *jagirs* to others. These made Khān Jahān suspect that Shāh Jahān would humiliate and ruin him.[6]

The rumour that he would soon be imprisoned added to Khān Jahān's suspicions. One day Mukhlis Khān's son

1 *Ma'āṭhir*, I, pp. 730-1.

2 '*Āmal*, I, p. 348; *Lāhorī*, I, pp. 199 and 273.

3 *Lāhorī*, I, p. 255; '*Āmal*, I, p. 348.

4 *Ibid*, 273.

5 *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 723.

6 *Ibid*, 723-4.

Mīrzā Laskarī mischievously told a son of Khān Jahān that his father would soon be imprisoned. The son informed the father. Khān Jahān feared for his safety and remained shut up in his house. Shāh Jahān sent him an *amānnāma* assuring him of safety. Aṣaf Khān re-assured him. Khān Jahān, however, could not rely on the *amānnāma* and, in the night of October 5, 1629 (Safar 26, 1039), he fled from Agra with his family and followers.[1]

Shāh Jahān sent Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan Turbatī to the pursuit of Khān Jahān. At Dhulpur, 18 *kos* from Agra, Muẓaffar Khān Barha and other Mughal generals encountered him. In the engagement, Khān Jahān's sons Ḥusain and Ajmal and his son-in-law Shams Khān Lodī together with his brothers Muḥammad and Maḥmūd, the grandsons of 'Ālam Khān Lodī, and many other Afghāns were killed.[2] Khān Jahān crossed the Chambal and passing through Bundelkhand, the country of Jujhar Singh Bundela, and seeking in vain shelter in Gondwana, he came via Berar to Ahmadnagar.

Bahlūl Khān Miyāna, the *jagirdār* of Balapur, and Sikandar Dutānī of Jalnapur left the Mughal service and joined Khān Jahān.[3] A little later Dariyā Khān Rohīla fled from Burhanpur and joined him at Ahmadnagar.[4] Several other Afghān officers deserted Shāh Jahān's service and swelled the ranks of the rebels. Considering Khān Jahān's coming as a great gain against the Mughal empire, the Niẓām al-Mulk received him cordially and gave him and his companions money and fiefs.[5]

[1] *Lāhorī*, I, p. 274-5; '*Āmal*, I, pp. 348-9; *Ma'āṭhir*, I, pp. 724-5.
[2] *Ibid*, 276-8; '*Āmal*, I, pp. 348-9; *Ma'āṭhir* I, p. 725.
[3] *Ibid*, 289; '*Āmal*, I, p. 356; *Ma'āṭhir* I, p. 726.
[4] *Ibid*, 300; '*Āmal*, I, p. 371.
[5] *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 726.

In alliance with the Niẓām al-Mulk, Khān Jahān raided and plundered the Mughal territories in the Deccan. Shāh Jahān came personally to deal with him and from Burhanpur he directed the campaign, sending three forces against Ahmadnagar. Khān Jahān could not stand before the imperialists and in 1630, being defeated in a battle at Bir, on the road east of Ahmadnagar, he retreated to Daulatabad.[1]

In the meantime, differences and distrust arose between the Niẓām al-Mulk and Khān Jahān.[2] It was in the hope of getting some benefit against the Mughal empire that the Niẓām al-Mulk had given shelter and help to Khān Jahān and his men. He now found that the Afghāns were a liability rather than an asset to him, as in the event they failed to acquire any part of the Mughal territory for him. Moreover, the territories of the Niẓām al-Mulk suffered severely from the inroads of the Mughal forces, which were in pursuit of Khān Jahān.[3] Khān Jahān also was disgusted with the interested "friendship" of the Niẓām al-Mulk.[4] He thought it advisable to leave his territory.

Attempt for the recovery of Afghān rule:

On the advice of Dariyā Khān Rohīla, Aimal Khān Tarīn, Sardār Khān Rohīla and his chief adherents, Khān Jahān resolved to go to the Panjab so that he might obtain the help of the Afghāns there.[5] This new resolution changed the objective of Khān Jahān's rebellion. A rebel turned a champion of the Afghān national cause. Khān Jahān now determined upon rallying the Afghāns for the recovery of

1 *Lāhorī*, I, pp. 324-6 and 328.
2 *Ibid*, 334-5.
3 *Ibid*, 334-5; '*Āmal*, I, p. 398.
4 *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 728.
5 *Lāhorī*, I, p. 335; '*Āmal*, I, p. 399: *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 728.

the Afghān rule in India.

According to the author of *Ma'āthir*, Khān Jahān originally rebelled in defence of his honour; but before the end, he was actuated by the desire to re-establish the Afghān rule in India.[1] An analysis of his activities will indeed confirm Shāh Nawāz's verdict.

In spite of the advice of Dariyā Khān Rohīla, Sikandar Dutānī and others to make an attempt for the recovery of Afghān sovereignty, Khān Jahān at first recognised Shāh Jahān as Emperor, after he ascended the throne.[2] Not until the third year of Shāh Jahān's reign did he rebel as protest against what he considered his disgrace at court.[3] But he could not certainly have improved his position in Shāh Jahān's empire by means of rebellion. What was his object then? It seems that Khān Jahān was not clear in his aims. His sense of prestige had forced him to rebel and to ally with the Mughal enemy, the Niẓām al-Mulk.

Indeed Bahlūl Khān Miyāna, Sikandar Dutānī, Dariyā Khān Rohīla and other Afghān deserters from Mughal service joined Khān Jahān with the hope of making a bid for the restoration of the Afghān rule under his leadership.[4] At Daulatabad they wanted him to sit on the throne. But Khān Jahān did not consent and he said, "Fifty years of my life have gone, I do not know if after me my sons will be fit for the throne. Every Mughal will expel the Afghāns with ignominy from every town and village and then the maidservants will execrate me."[5] This disappointed his supporters and Bahlūl Khān Miyāna, Sikandar Dutānī and

1 *Ma'āṭhir*, I, pp. 730-1.
2 Idem, , p. 286.
3 Idem, pp. 289-90.
4 *Ma'āṭhir*, I, pp. 727-8.
5 *Ibid*, I, p. 728.

many other Afghāns left him.[1]

Desertions and reverses in the Deccan made Khān Jahān feel that he had no chance of success, unless he could rally the Afghāns under his banner by holding before them the ambition of reviving Afghān rule in India. So, he resolved to go to the Panjab so that he might enlist the support of the Afghāns there. Khān Jahān also wrote to Kamāl al-Dīn Rohīla, a deserter from Mughal service, who led the various Afghān tribes of the north-west frontier against the Mughal empire.[2] Kamāl al-Dīn and his confederates wanted to capture the fort of Peshawar. But the Mughal generals Sa'id Khān, Laskar Khān, Qulij Khān and others frustrated their plan.[3]

Khān Jahān wanted to go to the Panjab via Malwa. Anticipating such a move, Shāh Jahān sent 'Abd Allāh Khān to close the roads to that country.[4] Finding all roads closed, Khān Jahān, Lodī, in despair, entered Budelkhand intending to push on to Kalpi. Jujhar Singh Bundela's son Vikramjit pursued him and attacked his rear. In an engagement on January 21, 1631 (17 Jamadi II, 1040), he killed Dariyā Khān Rohīla, his son and many other Afghāns. Khān Jahān narrowly escaped with his followers.[5]

Dariyā Khān's death greatly distressed Khān Jahān and weakened his strength. The imperialists followed him at his heels. Again on February 2, 1631 (29 Jamadi II, 1040), Muẓaffar Khān Barha defeated him at Bhander, north-east

1 Ma'āṭhir, I, p. 728
2 *Lāhorī*, I, p. 311; '*Ămal*, I, p. 378; *Ma'āṭhir-Jahāngīrī*, 63a.
3 *Ibid*, 311-14; '*Ămal*, I, pp. 378-81.
4 *Ibid*, I, p. 335.
5 *Ibid*, 338-9.

of Jhansi. In this battle Khān Jahān lost his son Maḥmūd and many of his followers and he himself was wounded. Being hard-pressed, he fled towards Kalinjar. Saiyid Aḥmad, the commandant of the fort, attacked him and killed a large number of the Afghāns. Khān Jahān's son Ḥasan was taken captive. The unfortunate Afghān chief fled to Sahindra, 20 *kos* north of Kalinjar. Muẓaffar Khān Barha and 'Abd Allāh Khān, however, hotly pursued him.[1]

Being surrounded by the imperialists on all sides, Khān Jahān found no hope of escape. Disappointment and misfortune made him desperate and he resolved to die fighting with his greatly reduced army. On February 17, 1631 (Rajab 15, 1040), Khān Jahān engaged at Sahindra the Mughal advance-guard under Madhu Singh. Khān Jahān and his men fought desperately. Madhu Singh, however, fatally wounded him with an arrow and killed his sons 'Azīz and Aimal. Before 'Abd Allāh Khān and Muẓaffar Khān arrived in the field, he had defeated the Afghāns and cut off the heads of Khān Jahān and his sons. The Mughal generals sent the historian Khwāja Kamgar to Shāh Jahān at Burhanpur with their heads. Khān Jahān's head was fixed for some days on the gate of the fort of Burhānpur and afterwards buried in the vault of Daulat Khān Lodī, the father of Khān Jahān.[2]

With the death of Khān Jahān died in its embryo the last attempt at the restoration of Afghān rule in India.

Fall of Afghān influence :

The rebellion and fall of Khān Jahān ended the Afghān influence in the Mughal empire. No other Afghān noble

1 Lāhorī, 348-50.

2 *Ibid*, pp. 350-1; *Ma'āṭhir-i-Jahāngīrī*, 63a; *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 729.

after him had such a great position at court. Besides, his rebellion caused lasting injury to the Afghān position in the Mughal imperial service. A few of the Afghān officers, such as Dariyā Khān Rohīla, Bahlūl Khān Miyāna, Sikandar Dutānī and others with their followers had deserted from service and joined him. Moreover, they had made an attempt for the recovery of the Afghān rule in India. These naturally shook Shāh Jahān's faith in them and he could not trust them with responsible posts in the empire.

No amount of loyal service of the Afghāns could win back the confidence of Shāh Jahān and their position in the imperial service. Many of the Afghāns, such as Sher Khān Tanūr, Bahādur Khān Rohīla, Aḥmad Khān Niyāzī, Khān Jahān Kākar, Mubāriz Khān Rohīla and others remained steadfastly loyal at the time of Khān Jahān's rebellion and even fought to suppress him.[1] They also fought heroically in the Deccan, Qandahar and Balkh-Badakhshan campaigns of Shāh Jahān. Notwithstanding their distinguished services, however, they could win back neither the favour of the Emperor nor their rightful place in the army. A short summary of the subsequent careers of Bahādur Khān Rohīla, Jalāl Khān Kākar and Aḥmad Khān Niyāzī illustrates this.

From the time Shāh Jahān was a prince, Bahādur Khān Rohīla, a son of Dariyā Khān Rohīla, served him with sincere devotion and loyalty. After his father had deserted from service and joined Khān Jahān, he attached himself more firmly to the Emperor. At the time of his accession, Shāh Jahān, in appreciation of his service, had promoted him to

1 *Lāhori*, I, p. 301, 294, 296 and 298; '*Āmal*, I, pp. 368; *Ma'āṭhir*, II, p. 653.

the rank of 4,000 *zāt* and 2,000 *sawār* and had given him a fief in Kalpi.[1] Bahādur Khān Rohīla fought against his father and Khān Jahān and in the campaigns against Ahmadnagar and Bijapur.[2]

In 1647 in Prince Murād's campaign against Balkh, Bahādur Khān distinguished himself for his courage.[3] But although he had made great exertions in the Balkh and Uzbek campaigns, he fell into the bad graces of the Emperor. Certain malicious persons informed Shāh Jahān that Bahādur Khān Rohīla had neglected to pursue Naẓr Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh, and that his supineness was responsible for the defeat of Sa'id Khān in the Uzbek war. Shāh Jahān, who had already lost his faith in the Afghāns, believed the report and punished Bahādur Khān by depriving him of his *jagir*.[4] This made Bahādur Khān grieved at heart. He died in 1649 in the Qandahar campaign of Prince Aurangzeb.[5]

Jalāl Khān Kākar, a son of Dilāwar Khān Kākar, did good service in assisting Sa'id Khān against an attempt of the Afghāns under Kamāl al-Dīn Rohīla to take Peshawar in 1630.[6] He also served in the Balkh and Qandahar campaigns with distinction. But his rank did not exceed 2,000 *zāt* and 1,500 *sawār*.

Aḥmad Khān Niyāzī was another Afghān who performed meritorious service in the reign of Shāh Jahān. In the Deccan campaign, his courage forced a large combined forces of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar to retreat. He also

1 Lāhorī, I, pp. 117 and 119; *Ma'āṭhir*, I, pp. 416-17.
2 *Ibid*, 380-1; *Ma'āṭhir* I, pp. 416-7.
3 *Ibid*, II, p. 513; *Ma'āṭhir*, I, pp. 420-1.
4 *Ibid*, 553-4, 666 and 691-2; '*Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 423; *Khāfī Khān*, I, pp. 662-3.
5 *Ma'āṭhir*, I, pp. 423-4.
6 *Lāhorī*, I, p. 311; *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 530.

played a distinguished part in Mahābat Khān's capture of Amarkot, an outer fort of Daulatabad. His *manṣab*, however, was only 3,000 *zāt* and 3,000 *sawār*.[1]

After Khān Jahān's rebellion, Shāh Jahān did not appoint any Afghān as provincial governor. In the suppression of Khān Jahān's rebellion and the conquest of the Niẓām Shāhī territories, Sher Khān Tanūr greatly helped the Emperor. He, however, retained his post as governor of Gujrat until his death in 1631.[2] After that we do not see any Afghān as provincial governor in the reign of Shāh Jahān. Also he did not entrust any Afghān with an independent army command. The Afghāns were attached as assistants to other Mughal generals.

A study of the *manṣab* of the Afghāns at the end of Shāh Jahān's reign indicates a marked decline of their position in the Mughal empire.

Manṣabdārs (excepting the princes):

Rank		*Total No.*		*No. of Afghāns*
9	Hazārī	1 Aṣaf Khān		None
7	,,	8		None
6	,,	7		None
5	,,	31	1	Bahādur Khān Rohīla[3]
4	,,	29	1	Mubāriz Khān Rohīla[4]
3	,,	57	2	Aḥmad Khān Niyāzī[5] Shāhbāz Khān Rohīla

1 *Ma'āhṭir*, I, p. 719; '*Āmal*, III, p. 454.
2 *Ibid*, II, p. 653; *Lāhorī*, I, ii, p. 294.
3 '*Āmal*, III, p. 451.
4 '*Ibid*, 452.
5 *Ibid*, 454.

2½	Hazārī	24	None
2	„	66	4 Dillīr Khān Rohīla[1] Mubāriz Khān Niyāzī Jalāl Khān Kākar Kākar Khān
1½	„	72	2 Yasīn Khān[2] Jamāl Khān Lohānī
1	„	138	2 Sher Khān Miyāna 'Uṭhmān Khān Rohīla[3]
9	Sadī	31	1 Ail Khān[4]
8	„	81	2 Jamāl Khān Kākar Bahār Lohānī[5]
7	„	77	1 Nīk Khān (son of Bahādur Khān Rohīla)[6]
6	„	57	2 Baghe (son of Sher Khān Tanūr)[7] Kaka Kākar
	„	180	4 Shihab (son of Mubārak Khān Sarwānī)[8] Shāhbāz Afghān Yūsuf (son of Bahādur Khān Rohīla) Arjumand (nephew of Jalāl Khān Kākar).

1 'Āmal, III, pp. 457-8.
2 *Ibid*, 462.
3-5 *Ibid*, 465; 471; 472-3.
6 '*Āmal*, III, p. 476.
7 *Ibid*, 479-80.
8 *Ibid*, 481, 483 and 485.

The above discussion shows that Khān Jahān's rebellion reacted adversely against his people in the Mughal empire. It caused a revival of the Mughal Emperor's distrust of the Afghāns and that no amount of loyal service could win them back the confidence of Shāh Jahān. One incident illustrates how Shāh Jahān's mind reacted against them. In 1640, as 'Abd Allāh Khān Fīrūz Jang had failed to suppress the rebel Bundela chief Champat, the Emperor appointed the distinguished Afghān general Bahādur Khān Rohīla in his place and gave him the fief of Islamabad in Bundelkhand. Immediately after the appointment, Shāh Jahān thought that he had acted unwisely in sending Bahādur Khān to Bundelkhand and he feared that he might convert Bundelkhand into Rohilkhand. So, he recalled him.[1]

This distrust of the Mughals towards the Afghāns continued even down to the reign of Aurangzeb; indeed It was so very marked that even the foreigners noticed it. The Venetian Niccolao Manucci, who came to Agra towards the close of the reign of Shāh Jahān (1656) and lived in Delhi for many years in the reign of Aurangzeb (1659-1707), wrote, " It is a rule in the Mughal empire not to trust the race of the Pathans." In another place he remarked, " In the whole of Hindustan, from Kabul to the confines of Bengal, there may be one hundred fortresses. To these the King sends faithful governors. Generally they are men in his service, being princes whose fidelity have already been tested. They are Rajputs, Saiyids and Mughals. But the Pathans are never allowed to hold any of these for fear that they may plot some treason, as they did to King Humāyun."[2]

1 *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 420:

بندیل کهندرا روهیل کهند کردن صلاح ملکی نیست ـ

2 *Storia*, II, p. 257 and p. 446.

But through the complicated political conditions of his reign, the rise of Shivaji and the Marathas in the Deccan, wars against the Deccani sultanates, the alienation of the Rajputs and the rebellion of the Jats and the Satnamis, Aurangzeb in fact had to depend more on the arms of the Afghāns. The Afghān general Dilīr Khān Rohīla distinguished himself in many a campaign in his reign. Still Aurangzeb never entrusted him with an independent army command. In 1683, Dilīr Khān was fighting against the Bijapuris as second in command to Prince Shāh 'Ālam. Shāh 'Ālam intended to rebel against his father and seize the throne. He tried to induce Dilīr Khān to join him. Failing to win him over, the Prince secretly poisoned him.[1] Manucci says that Aurangzeb was grieved at the death of so faithful a general, for whom he had considerable affection, in spite of his being a Pathan.[2]

Manucci's writings further reveal the distrust of the Mughals to the Afghāns. He says, " Upon birthdays, days of festival and New Year's day, the emperor and the princes are weighed. On those days, the chief ladies of the court are obliged to attend at the palace to make their compliments to the queens and princesses. From this ceremony the wives of the Pathan captains are exempted."[3] To pay compliments to the queens and princesses on festive occasions was an honour for the ladies of the court and the exclusion of the Afghān ladies from such an honour shows that, although the Mughals continued to enlist the services of the Afghāns, yet they would not rely on them even in the reign of Aurangzeb. The writings of the French traveller Bernier, who lived in India from 1658 to 1667 and was intimately connected with

[1] Storia, II, p. 257, *Ma'āṭhir*, II, pp. 55-6.,

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Storia*, II, p. 345.

the Mughal court, express the same spirit of distrust of the Mughals towards the Afghāns. They confirm that it was military necessity only which obliged the Mughal emperor to engage the Afghāns in his service.[1]

1 *Bernier*, 210-1.

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

Although politically the rise of the Afghān sultanate was not an unexpected event, yet from the point of view of institutional development, particularly the institution of the monarchy, it came as a break in the political tradition of India, even in the tradition of Muslim India. The typical form of government in India was absolute monarchy. The Turks only developed this tradition further, indeed to an extent undreamt of even by the imperial Guptas.

Racially and culturally, the Turks and the Mughals of India had an affinity and Bābur was the lineal descendant of both Timur, the Turk, and Chengīz, the Mughal. Hence, he considered himself as a rightful claimant to the empire of Hindustan. The Afghāns, however, had affinity with neither their predecessors, the Turks, nor with their successors, the Mughals. Mughal rule in India saw the perfection of the Turkish institution of absolute monarchy. At the time of the Afghāns, however, we see the introduction of a monarchy different from the Turks and the Mughals and hence their sultanate caused a breach in the history of absolute monarchy in India.

In the period of the Afghān sultanate, India underwent the experiment of a monarchy based on tribal lines and it is this fact which gives especial significance to the history of the Afghān rule in this country. Absolute monarchy was alien to the nature and temperament of the Afghān people. On

account of their excessive attachment to their own tribes and tribal chiefs as well as their love for tribal independence, the Afghāns converted the monarchy to a sort of confederacy of the tribal chiefs presided over by the king. The chiefs accorded him the honours of a leader of the equals rather than of a master.

The experiment of this new type of monarchy, however, could have been an interesting deviation from the monotonous history of absolutism, if the Afghāns could have shown more aptitude for compromise in their ideas and actions. The Afghān chiefs were the accredited leaders of their own tribes and this gave them a representative character. Had they been balanced and judicious in their ideas of freedom and their respect for law and authority, they could have easily constituted themselves as the parliament and cabinet of the sultanate. This would have introduced the experiment of a constitutional monarchy in the fifteenth and sixteenth century India and this would have entitled the Afghāns to a dignified position as the greatest benefactor and contributor to the history of this country. This would have given permanence to their rule in India and also saved the country much trouble. But their ignorance, uncompromising nature and individualistic spirit prevented the Afghāns from appreciating the value of constitutional government. So great was their individualistic spirit that even the foreigners noticed it. Bernier, who visited India in the middle of the seventeenth century, wrote that even the menials and water-carriers of the Afghāns thought themselves worthy of the throne of Delhi.[1] Indeed this spirit of the Afghān chiefs accounted for their failure to introduce the constitutional monarchy in their sultanate. So, Muslim monarchy in India lost a good chance of a change for the better.

[1] *Bernier*, 207.

On account of their tribal nature and ideas, the Afghāns, however, introduced in India a period of bitter conflict. The Afghān chiefs fanatically maintained their tribal independence and vehemently resisted all attempts of the king to establish a strong monarchy. So, in the Afghān sultanate, we see the conflict between the principle of kingship and the idea of tribal independence and this was primiarily responsible for their weakness and the loss of their sultanate in 1526 and 1556.

If the Afghāns failed to give constitutional form to their monarchy, then the only alternative form for them was a strong monarchy or an absolute monarchy of the type of the Turkish sultanate. The Afghān sultanate as such represented misgovernment and the attitude of the Indians towards them reflected it. They began their rule as strangers to India and ended as strangers to the people of this country.[1]

Islām Shāh felt the need for a strong centralised monarchy in the sultanate. Bold in his ideas as well as in his actions, he ruthlessly suppressed tribal independence and returned to an absolutism reminiscent of the days of Balban, 'Alā al-Dīn Khaljī and Muḥammad bin Tughlaq. He also introduced and developed ideas and institutions which provided a worthy legacy for the absolute rule and imperial system of Akbar, the Great Mughal. Thus, Islām Shāh healed the breach in the history of the institutional development in Muslim India and linked together the Turks and the Mughals in this country in one common political tradition.

Intellectually and culturally, the period of Afghān rule in India presaged the intellectual renaissance of the time of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. It saw a great development of the Persian, Hindi and Bengali languages and literatures as well as of poetry and music. Makhdum al-Mulk Shaikh

[1] Idem, pp. 38 and 125.

'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī and Shaikh 'Alāi, whom the contemporary historians regarded as most proficient in all the sciences of the time, flourished at the time of the Sūr sultanate. The period was particularly rich in Persian poetry. Great poets like Mīr Saiyid Ni'ama, Shaikh 'Abd at-Ḥai, Haitī and Saifī belonged to the court of Islām Shāh. The king and the nobles also vied with one another in the composition of verses in Persian.

The Sūr Afghan sulṭāns patronised Hindi. Their coins bear Hindi names. Islām Shāh's noble Shāh Muḥammad was a good Hindi poet and Mīrzā Kāmrān remarked that if he wrote in Persian, he would have earned international fame. The great Hindi poet and musician Sur Das adorned the court of Islām Shāh.

The Afghan period produced the greatest musicians of the Indian history. Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh was a master musician who counted among his disciples Miyān Tansen and Bāz Bahādur who afterwards became the most illustrious musicians of the court of Akbar. Bāz Bahādur, the Afghān ruler of Malwa, maintained 900 songtresses and dancing girls and made his court the most illuminating centre of music of the time. They composed songs both in Persian and Hindi. The love-songs, which Bāz Bahādur and his favourite Rupamati composed pouring their hearts for one another, are a valuable piece of the Hindi literature and music, and still popular in India.[1]

Islām Shāh and Sulaimān Karranī took a great interest in literary and philosophical discussions. Poets and scholars assembled in their court and debated questions of literature, poetry and philosophy. Indeed these literary and philosophi-

1 Idem, p. 151.

cal discussions in the court of the Afghāns encouraged Emperor Akbar later to hold such meetings in his court. This led to the building of the "*Ibādatkhāna* and brought in the great intellectual awakening of his reign.

The period of the Afghān sultanate also witnessed the rise of the *Mahdavī* movement whose ideas had considerable significance in introducing rationalism and also liberating state from the influence of the orthodox '*ulema* in the reign of Akbar. It also saw a marvellous development of *Sūfīsm* in the person of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī of Fathpur-Sikri.

The period of Afghān rule also saw a brilliant development of the Bengali language. The great stimulus to Bengali literature under the patronage of the Ilyās Shāhī sulṭāns and Saiyid sulṭāns continued in the period of the Afghān rule in Eastern India. After the loss of Northern India, the Afghāns adopted Bengal as their home and also patronised Bengali intellect. The rise of Srihari Vikramaditya and Janakiballava Basanta Rai illustrates this.

The Afghān period is particulaly rich in the works of the Vaishnava Kavyas and Manasamangal Kavyas. The poets, Ramchandra Khān, Dvij Raghunath, Isannagar, Bansidas, Brindaban Das, Lochan Das, Krishnadas Kaviraj, Daulat Wazir Bahram, Bijaya Gupta, Muktaram Sen, Raghunath Pandit, Madhavacharya, Saiyid Sulṭān and Manik Ganguli flourished in this period.[1] Mukundaram Chakravarti, called Kavikankan Chandi, the Crabbe of the Bengali literature and the Chaucer of Indian story-tellers,[2] was also a product of this period.

1 Sen, S. K.—*Bangla Sahityer Itihash*, I, pp. 66-503; *Prachin Puthir Bibaran*, I, II, 1320 B. S.; *Adv. Hist. of India*, 407-8.

2 Dasgupta, J. N.—*Bengal in the Sixteenth Century*, 57.

Another significant feature of the period was the *Satyapir* movement which aimed at a synthesis of the Hindu and Muslim creeds. The *Bhakti* movement also received a great impetus due to the great development of the Vaishnava literatures of the time.

One especially significant fact of the history of the Afghāns in India was their relations with their conquerors, the Mughals. Unlike other conquered peoples, the Afghāns would not tamely submit themselves to the Mughal rule and the Mughals also could not trust them. So, their relations with the Mughals passed through the various phases of distrust, conciliation and suspicion. Nevertheless, through military necessity, the Mughal emperors had to appoint them in the army and it is indeed a paradox of history that Shāh Jahān's reign, which saw the revival of the Mughal distrust of the Afghāns, also laid the basis of the Afghān revival in India.

On account of his distinguished services and particularly for his suppression of the turbulent Hindu chiefs of Katehar, Shāh Jahān granted Dilīr Khān Rohīla, a son of the deserter Dariyā Khān Rohīla and brother of Bahādur Khān Rohīla, some villages in the *sarkār* of Kanauj. Dilīr Khān colonised them with the Afghāns and built there a city, which he named Shahjahanpur.[1] These Afghān colonies naturally attracted more Afghāns to India, particularly in the later days of Aurangzeb's reign, and they formed the nucleus for the establishment of the Afghān states in Farrukhabad and Rohilkhand. The first was established in 1712 by Muḥammad Khān Bangash, known as the Nawāb of Bangash, and the second in 1737 by 'Alī Muḥammad Khān Rohīla.[2]

1 *Khāfī Khān*, I, pp. 662-3; *Ma'āṭhir*, I, p. 423; *Akhbār-i-Maḥabbat*, 64b-5b; District Gazetteer, Shahjahanpur, XVII, 136.

2 K. Rahman—*The Rise and Fall of the Rohila Afghans*, 8 and 48.

Settled near Delhi, the Afg<u>h</u>āns could also exercise great political influence in the Mug<u>h</u>al court in the days of its decline. An Afg<u>h</u>ān *jagirdār* of Rohilkhand, Najīb <u>Kh</u>ān, indeed became so influential that in 1757 he made himself a protector of Emperor Aḥmad Shah.[1]

Thus, although it seems contradictory, yet it is a fact that at this time the unruly nature and fighting spirit of the Afg<u>h</u>āns brought them once more in the lime light of history, as previously these qualities had also, on several occasions, paved the way for their great national misfortune.

1 K. Rahman—*The Rise and Fall of the Rohila Afghans*, pp. 122-25 and 133.

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